FREE WORLD

SPECIAL PEACE ISSUE

NO LONGER MACHINE GUNS—BUT SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH:
This veteran has kept the physical and mental expressions of a soldier at his gun. But his battlefield is now the laboratory where the future of mankind may be decided.

THE
RIGHT
TO KNOW
BY
KENT COOPER

FROM
MARTIAN
BROADCAST
TO
ATOM BOMB
BY
ORSON WELLE

SEPTEMBER 1945 4[illegible]
IN CANADA [illegible]

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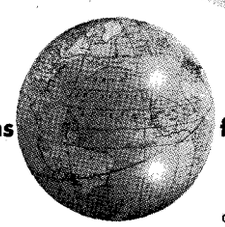

patterns for peace... Soon the pulse of peace-time traffic will throb over the airlanes and sea ways of a free world. • Nation will talk to nation in the universal language of the Arts. Good design will flourish again... and be respected anew. • And off to world-wide conquest strides the Stafford Stallion... symbol of those brilliant fabrics that are woven in Pennsylvania and printed in the little Connecticut town for which Stafford Fabrics are named... Stafford Fabrics... fabrics with a pedigree.

GOODMAN & THEISE, INC., 16 East 34th St., New York 16, N. Y.
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State of the World . . .

SEPTEMBER 1945

Free World Augurs Three Important Events:

1. **The United States will soon take the initiative in the field of international economic cooperation.**
2. **Civil war in China will be avoided.**
3. **Britain's foreign policy will soon show much more progressive tendencies and considerably modify Mr. Bevin's transitory policy statement.**
4. **A boom in United States export trade in agricultural machines, railway and mining equipment, electrical appliances and in the tourist trade.**
5. **A great number of European Jews will be admitted to Palestine.**

Some Previous Free World Predictions:

In the MARCH issue: **FREE WORLD predicted that the Conservatives would lose control of the government in England.**

In the APRIL issue: **That the San Francisco conference would result in the successful establishment of a world organization.**

In the JULY issue: **That the ratification of the Charter in 40 countries would be unanimous. For the United States, FREE WORLD predicted slight opposition.**

In the AUGUST issue: **That "the Big Three conference will end in unanimous agreement . . . on the administration of Germany."**

In the AUGUST issue: **That a Spanish Republican Government-in-Exile would be formed.**

International Aviation

The recent International Civil Aviation Organization meeting in Montreal revealed little news on attitudes of various governments, and it was confined to technical matters. Important U. S.-British conversations on a bilateral agreement which have been going on quietly since the Chicago Aviation Conference last year, will probably result in an "interim" air transport agreement, extending our wartime flying arrangements with Britain for another six months or so. U. S. commercial airlines generally feel that the new British Government will be more liberal in its attitude toward them, will recognize the inevitability of the "fifth freedom" which the U. S. urged at the Chicago Conference.

Arrangements with Russia and France

Possibilities of bilateral aviation agreements with France and the Soviet Union still depend on broad political relations with those nations. If the results of De Gaulle's visit

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to the U. S. are generally successful it will improve the State Department's chances in negotiations for flying rights. It is not expected that the Soviets will be open to any broad air agreement for a year or two. Effort will be made to pave the way for agreement on passenger flights by trying to build a straight freight transport business first, in line with Russia's immediate needs.

The Spanish Government-in-Exile

At last a Spanish Government-in-Exile has been formed, in Mexico City, and we urge its immediate recognition by all the United Nations as well as a complete diplomatic and economic break with Franco. The fascist regime of Franco must go—lock, stock and barrel.

The present Republican Government-in-Exile should be recognized as the Provisional Government, entrusted with preparations for free elections in which the Spanish people can choose the form of government they want—and it is not difficult to know what they want because in the last two elections they declared themselves overwhelmingly for the Republic.

Czechs Eager for American Plays

A recent English-language broadcast over the Prague radio stressed the eagerness with which the Czech public awaits the production of Allied and especially American plays. In particular demand are works by Robert Sherwood, Maxwell Anderson, Kaufman and O'Neill. Already on the Czech repertoire are Shakespeare plays and modern and classical Russian plays.

The French and Atomic Research

Some very interesting disclosures were made in a recent interview by Frederic Joliot, Professor at the College de France, foremost French physicist and atom researcher.

Professor Joliot's remarks had direct bearing on the harnessing of atomic energy as a source of industrial power. The research in 1939-40 *enabled the French to define the requisites for the construction of machines producing atomic energy.* However, Professor Joliot expressed doubts as to the early practicability of utilizing these machines as the motive power for ships and locomotives.

When the machine is in operation it emits rays of an intensity dangerous to living beings and which, to be safely absorbed, require enormous water tanks of several hundred tons capacity. In his opinion, it is in the form of a thermic power station, operated telemechanically, that energy will be secured from these machines. The machine when at work will produce enormous quantities of artificial radioactive substances which will have a wide field of application in biology and in the compounding of pharmaceutic products.

Sixty Million Jobs

Henry Wallace's new book *Sixty Million Jobs*, which will appear September 18, will provide the most comprehensive program yet for full employment in the U. S., a major problem in world economics.

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120,000 Shares for an Exit Visa under Laval

Attention businessmen: This is how fascism operates

VERY soon the trial of Pierre Laval, the archcollaborationist of France, will begin before the Parisian tribunal. It will be a trial not only of one man, but of a whole system of ruthless betrayal of political philosophies, friendships and alliances. It will be the trial of all men in all lands who think that any means is justified in order that they may reach absolute power and riches.

The political ideas and errors will not alone serve as a background to the trial. There is one case of which we have documentation in our hands which indicates that there will also be common criminal extortion charges at this trial—an instance of the practice of requiring people to donate their entire fortune as the price of exit visa. This instance of the most incredible, refined blackmail was related to the case of Mr. Olof Aschberg, Swedish banker and long-time resident of Paris.

Aschberg was put in forced residence in the city of Rodez and had to present himself every two days to the local police commissioner, who enjoyed himself hugely in the role of a threatening medieval potentate. But one day the atmosphere in the police commissariat became very friendly, because Mr. Aschberg had received a letter from the chief of cabinet of Pierre Laval, inviting him in the most courteous terms to come to Vichy immediately for an important communication. Full of hope, he lost no time in leaving for Vichy. In the ante-chamber of Pierre Laval he was introduced to a few "gentlemen" who told him that they were quite sure his exit visa from France would be forthcoming much more easily if he were to "sell" at their price his 120,000 shares of Pathé-Cinema which constituted about 10 per cent of the total number of shares of that great French motion picture enterprise.

Aschberg refused. But the exit visa was not forthcoming and every day the Swedish banker and his family were in more grave danger. So one day Aschberg wrote a letter to Marshal Petain, offering the shares as a "present" to France. Petain himself did not reply to the letter. But Tixier-Vignancourt, who later became head of the infamous government department for the liquidation of Jewish properties, answered and said that he was very grateful for the promised gift and that, once the transfer of the shares had taken place, *he would not oppose the granting of an exit visa to Aschberg. But Aschberg, knowing that the above-mentioned few "gentlemen" were anxiously waiting to lay hands on the shares, said he wanted an official letter from Petain himself, certifying that these shares were made as a grant. Petain still remained silent, but, Pierre Laval, in his capacity as Vice-Prime Minister of Vichy, on official letterhead, admitted openly and directly that, in view of the fact that the shares were offered to the French government he was giving instructions for the delivery of one exit visa to the Swedish banker and his family.*

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The Evidence against Fascist Extortion

ÉTAT FRANÇAIS

VICE-PRÉSIDENCE
DU CONSEIL

RADIODIFFUSION, LIVRE ET CINÉMA

VICHY , le 4 Novembre 1940

Monsieur ,

Vous avez bien voulu offrir à l'Etat français de lui faire don de vos actions de l'affaire PATHE-CINEMA.

Tout en vous remerciant vivement de votre geste généreux, je vous fais connaître que dès la livraison de ces titres , rien ne s'opposera, en ce qui me concerne , à la délivrance pour vous et votre famille du visa de sortie de France et à ce que vous soient restitués les papiers d'identité précédemment saisis.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur , l'assurance de mes sentiments distingués.

Monsieur ASCHBERG

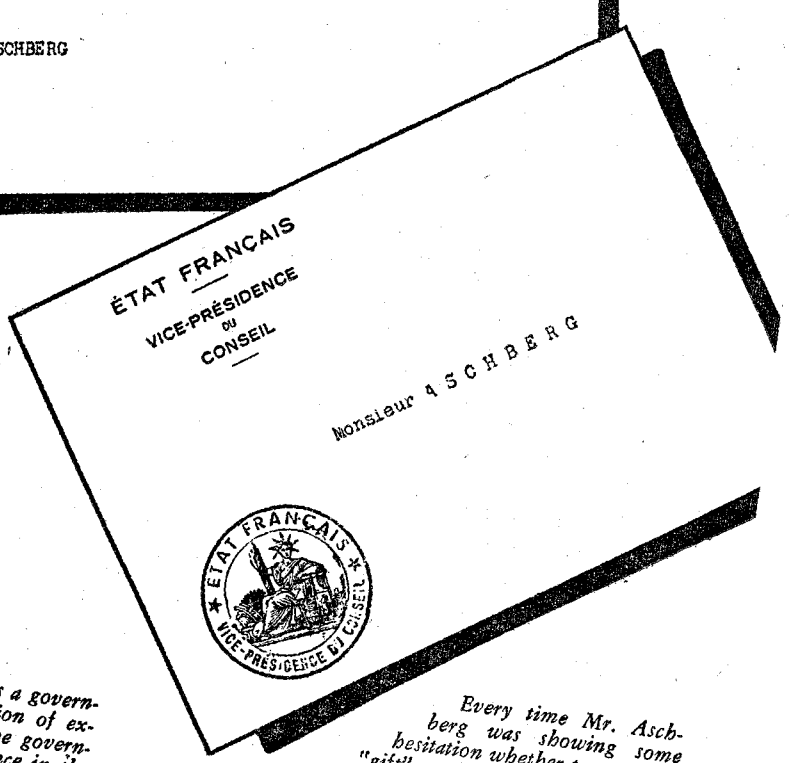
A letter from Gangster Tixier-Vignancourt "Secretary of State for Blackmail"

Sir:

You have been kind enough to offer to the French State as a gift your shares in the Pathé-Cinema business.

While thanking you wholeheartedly for your generous gesture, I am informing you that as soon as these shares are delivered, nothing will stand in the way so far as I am concerned, of the delivery to you and to your family of an exit permit from France and of the restitution of identity papers previously confiscated. . . .

Note from the editors. Rarely in history has a government letterhead carried such frank admission of extortion. Notice the official letterhead and the government seal under the text. Notice the sentence in the letter: "as soon as the shares are delivered . . ."



Every time Mr. Aschberg was showing some hesitation whether to make his "gift" or to "sell," a government messenger would bring one of these official envelopes with the government seal on it.

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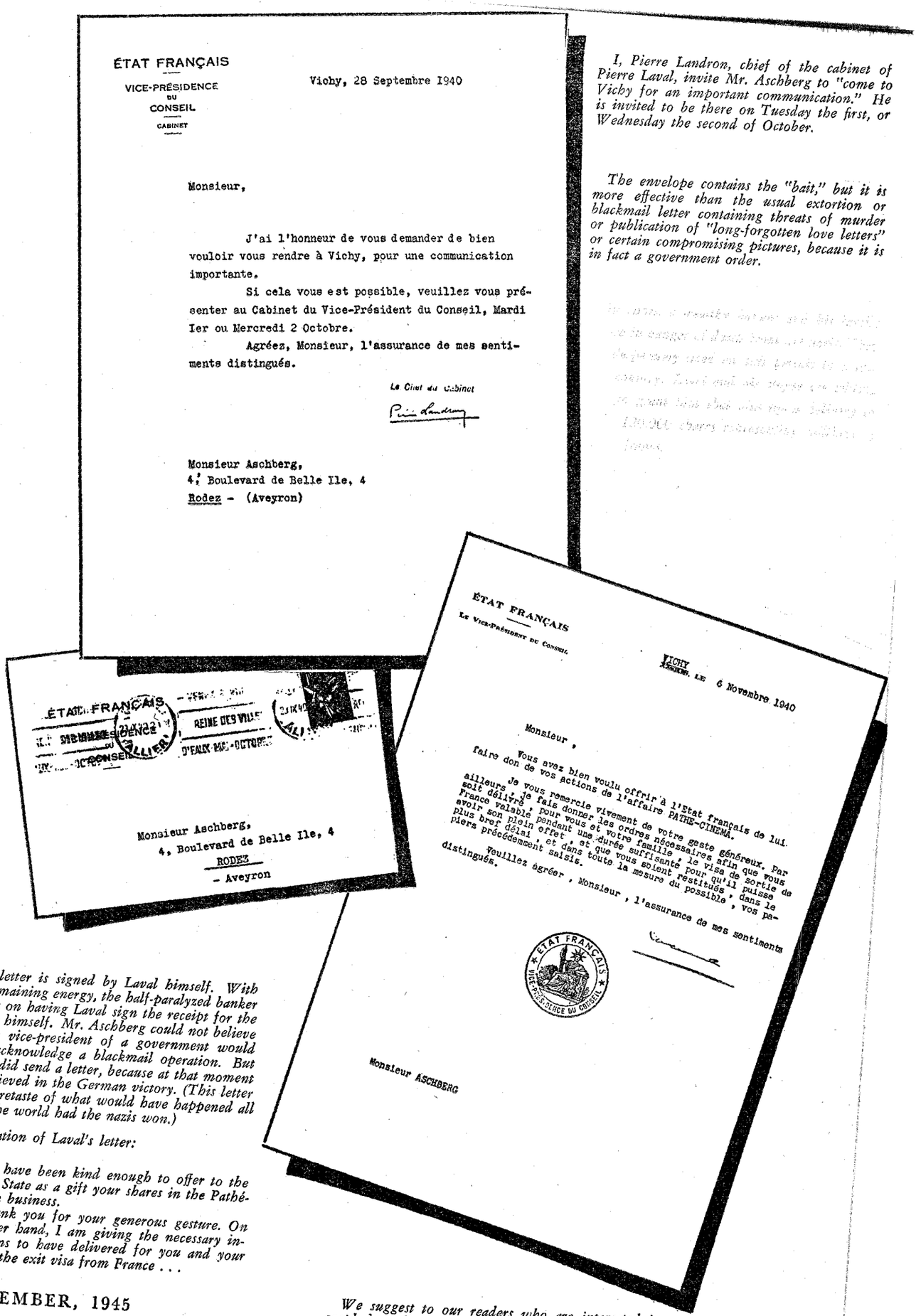

ÉTAT FRANÇAIS

VICE-PRÉSIDENCE DU CONSEIL

CABINET

Vichy, 28 Septembre 1940

Monsieur,

J'ai l'honneur de vous demander de bien vouloir vous rendre à Vichy, pour une communication importante.

Si cela vous est possible, veuillez vous présenter au Cabinet du Vice-Président du Conseil, Mardi 1er ou Mercredi 2 Octobre.

Agréez, Monsieur, l'assurance de mes sentiments distingués.

Le Chef du Cabinet

Pierre Landron

Monsieur Aschberg,
4, Boulevard de Belle Ile, 4
Rodez - (Aveyron)

I, Pierre Landron, chief of the cabinet of Pierre Laval, invite Mr. Aschberg to "come to Vichy for an important communication." He is invited to be there on Tuesday the first, or Wednesday the second of October.

The envelope contains the "bait," but it is more effective than the usual extortion or blackmail letter containing threats of murder or publication of "long-forgotten love letters" or certain compromising pictures, because it is in fact a government order.

ÉTAT FRANÇAIS

VICE-PRÉSIDENCE DU CONSEIL

REINE DES VILLES

Monsieur Aschberg,
4, Boulevard de Belle Ile, 4
RODEZ
- Aveyron

ÉTAT FRANÇAIS

Le Vice-Président du Conseil

VICHY, LE 6 Novembre 1940

Monsieur,

Vous avez bien voulu offrir à l'Etat français de lui faire don de vos actions de l'affaire PATHE-CINEMA.

Je vous remercie vivement de votre geste généreux. Par ailleurs, je fais donner les ordres nécessaires afin que vous soit délivré pour vous et votre famille le visa de sortie de France valable pendant une durée suffisante pour qu'il puisse avoir son plein effet, et que vous soient restitués, dans le plus bref délai, et dans toute la mesure du possible, vos papiers précédemment saisis.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, l'assurance de mes sentiments distingués.

ÉTAT FRANÇAIS
VICE-PRÉSIDENCE DU CONSEIL

Monsieur ASCHBERG

This letter is signed by Laval himself. With his remaining energy, the half-paralyzed banker insists on having Laval sign the receipt for the shares himself. Mr. Aschberg could not believe that a vice-president of a government would dare acknowledge a blackmail operation. But Laval did send a letter, because at that moment he believed in the German victory. (This letter is a foretaste of what would have happened all over the world had the nazis won.)

Translation of Laval's letter:

Sir:

You have been kind enough to offer to the French State as a gift your shares in the Pathé-Cinema business.

I thank you for your generous gesture. On the other hand, I am giving the necessary instructions to have delivered for you and your family, the exit visa from France . . .

We suggest to our readers who are interested in graphology that they study Laval's signature. It speaks for the man.

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One Per Cent More for U. N. R. R. A.

The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration will press the U. S. for additional funds this fall, probably will ask another 1 per cent of the federal income which it must have to meet its European commitments and begin the China program it has in blueprint form.

Great Changes in Europe

Social-democratic and socialist movements which have often been proclaimed politically dead are steadily spreading over a great part of Europe, and it can be expected that within a few months they will be the dominant political factors. England, Belgium, Norway, Denmark, and Sweden already have Labor or Labor-led cabinets. It is expected that France will follow this fall with a coalition cabinet under socialist leadership. Their program consists of the establishment of mixed socialist and private enterprise systems within the framework of a new system of political and economic democracy.

How Would the Tories Like It?

Former President of the Board of Trade, Oliver Lyttelton, at a recent meeting of the House of Commons, said: "If you wish to obtain assistance from the United States, you must be careful about the nasty things you say about private enterprise that will affront American opinion."

Just imagine how Oliver Lyttelton and his conservative friends would have reacted if Harold Laski had said in his speech: "If you wish to obtain assistance from Soviet Russia, you must be careful about the nasty things you say about communism that will affront Russian opinion."

Air Travel to Become Easier

The end of the war solves the U. S. airlines' immediate problem on equipment. Most of our military forces in the Pacific, aside from wounded men, will be transported home by ship, and ATC will be in a position to release quantities of planes and equipment for commercial use.

"Common Carriers" for Television

Television and frequency modulation broadcasting will both be strong educational influences on public opinion. The Government is working on plans to protect itself against having these media fall into isolationist hands. The new plan for relaying television programs by high-altitude airplanes probably means that nation-wide television service is a practical possibility in the near future. Previous plans looked forward only to major city coverage because of relaying difficulties and expense.

To prevent development of monopoly control in airplane relay plan, legislation making the planes "common carriers" will have to be introduced. The Federal Communications Commission will grant the first licenses for operation of FM broadcasting stations on October 7. Of 485 applications pending, more than 100 are from the big isolationist operators of America. The Gannetts, Hearsts, McCormicks, and Pattersons figure prominently in the list. The McCormick *Chicago Tribune,* for example, has applied for a chain of six midwest stations. Internationalists who see what is happening are rushing last-minute plans in order to get competitive applications in to the FCC before October 7th.

International Director for Food and Agriculture

The U. S. will not press for a U. S. citizen as head of the international Food and Agriculture Organization when that group meets in Canada in October. Chances are that a Canadian will be compromise choice for the job.

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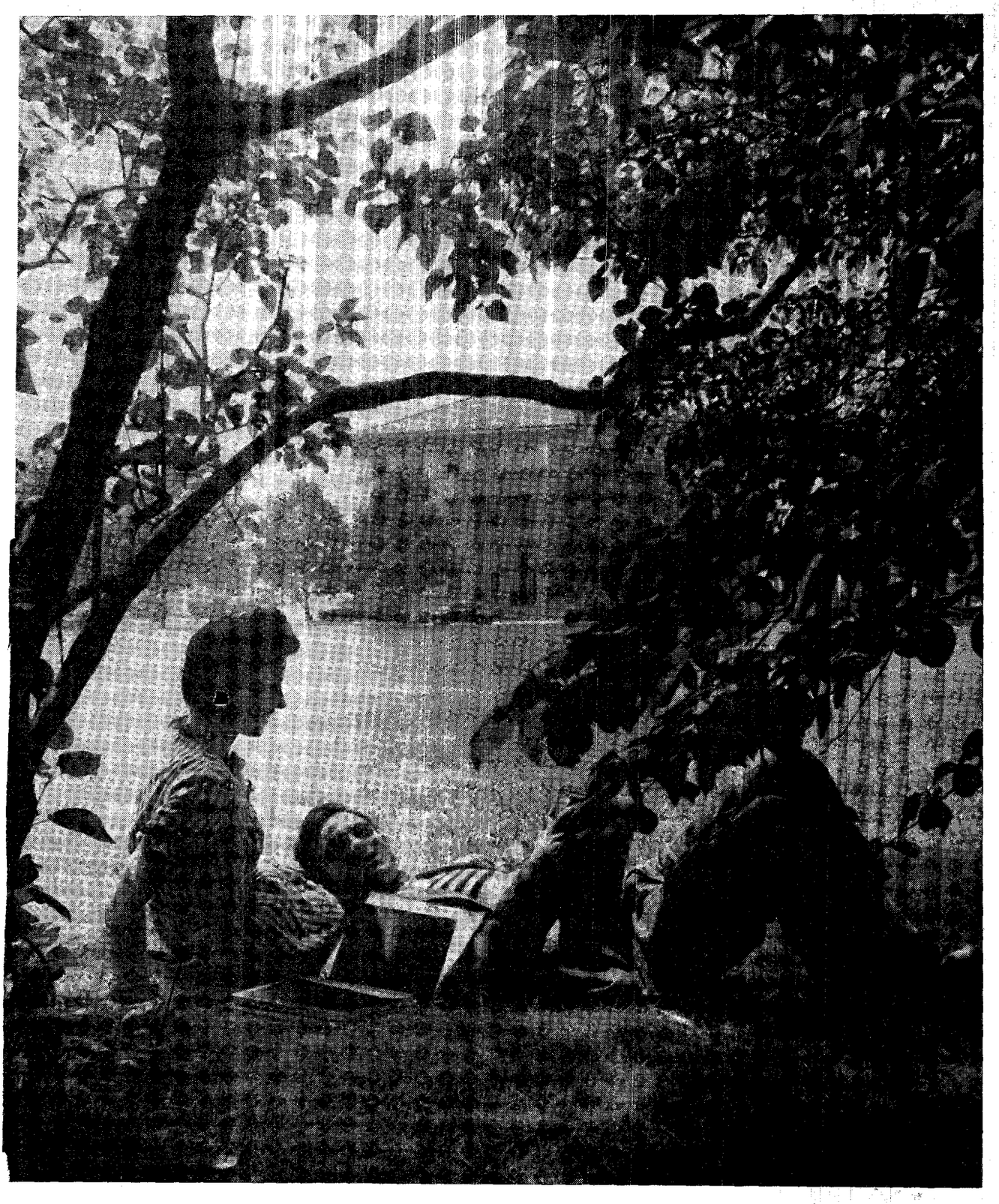

HOME COMES THE SOLDIER, HOME FROM THE WAR . . .

It's a long way from overseas battlefields to the peace of an American campus. How successful the return of our veterans to civilian life can be made, how quickly and efficiently they can be integrated into a normal state of affairs, will to a great extent determine the fate of democracy.

Phot. Kosti Ruohomaa★

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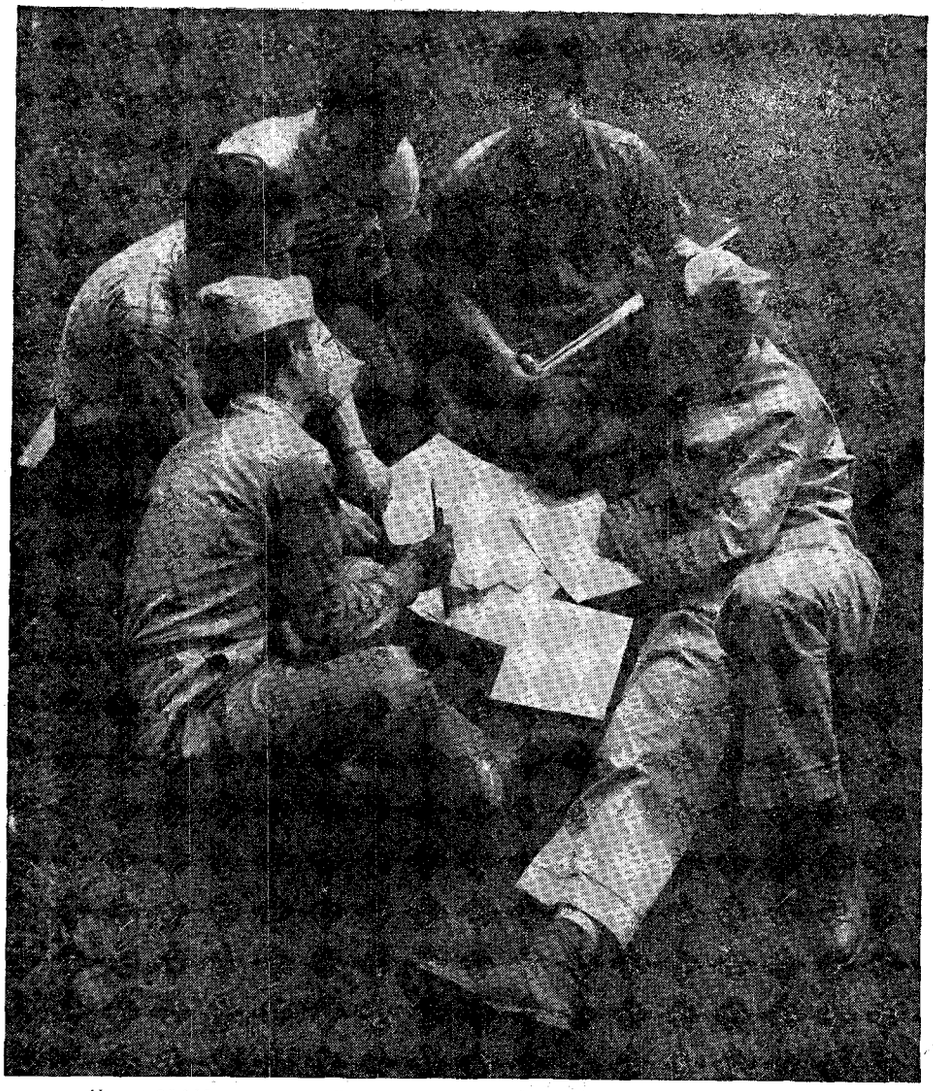
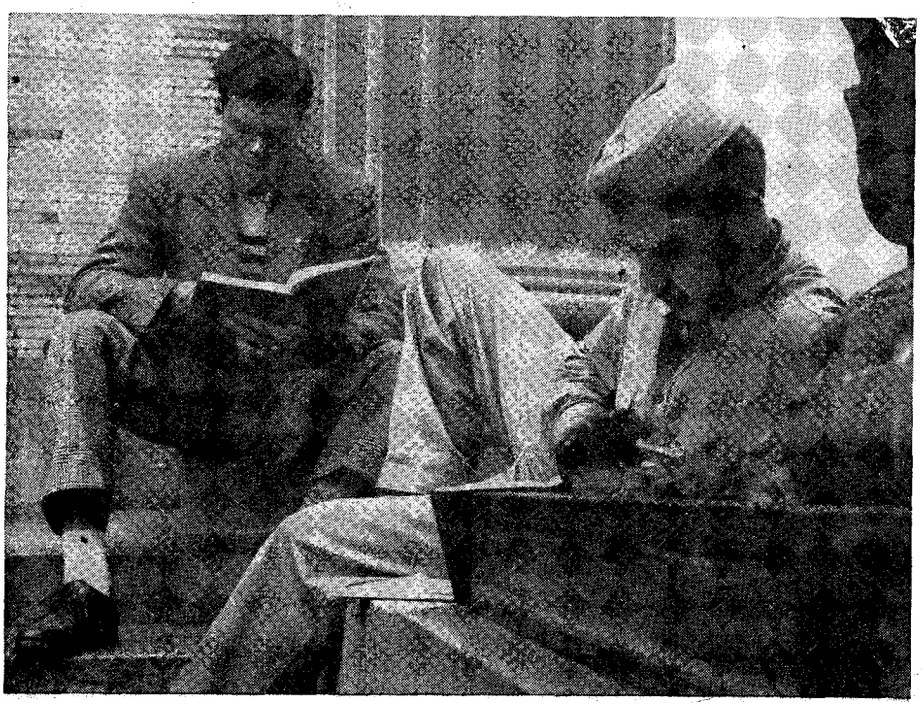


Almost 25,000 veterans of World War II have entered colleges and universities in the U. S.—most of whom could not have afforded college without government aid. After a short "reconversion" period they generally make grades much better than average students: older but more mature, less lighthearted than the traditional student. They discuss everything—except their war experiences. I. N. Phot.



Ex-servicemen try to merge as quickly as possible with the rest of the student body—in most cases with complete success. They do not consider themselves as "problems," hate the word "adjustment." The golden eagle button in their lapels is their only external distinction. Their understanding of interdependence and world oneness has been won the hard way—by personal experience.

FROM FOX HOLES TO COLLEGE CAMPUS

THERE are two days which no man who has served in an army ever forgets: He never forgets the day of arrival at the Reception Center, and there is a corner in his memory in which the date of his honorable discharge is written in golden letters.

The memory of the first day is one of strange fears—the unforgettable break between civilian freedom life and military discipline. The second is the complete, absolute fulfilment of all his dreams. It is the very happy ending of which as a soldier he has been thinking in the foxhole when a town or restaurant was "out of bounds" for him, or when the sergeant and officers got particularly tough.

In the United Nations alone, over 40 million soldiers are returning home. Of course, for many of these soldiers it will take a year or more before they actually reach home. But the fact remains that each one of them sees himself psychologically "on the way back." Those thoughts of death on the battlefield or of endless years in enemy prison camps

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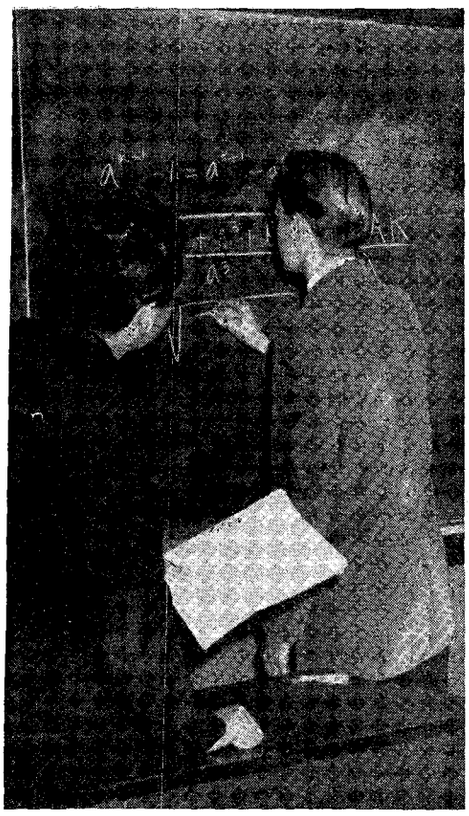
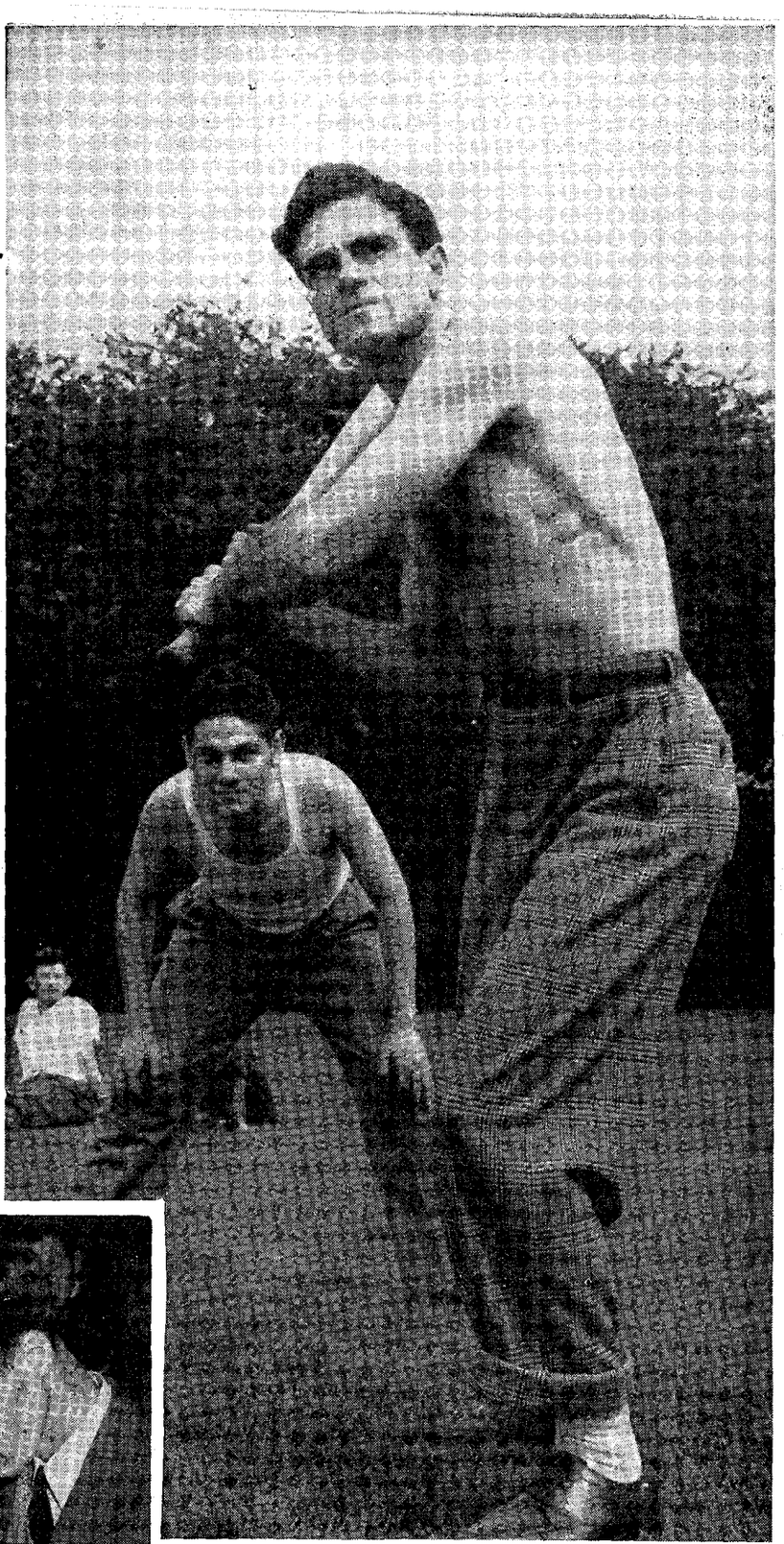


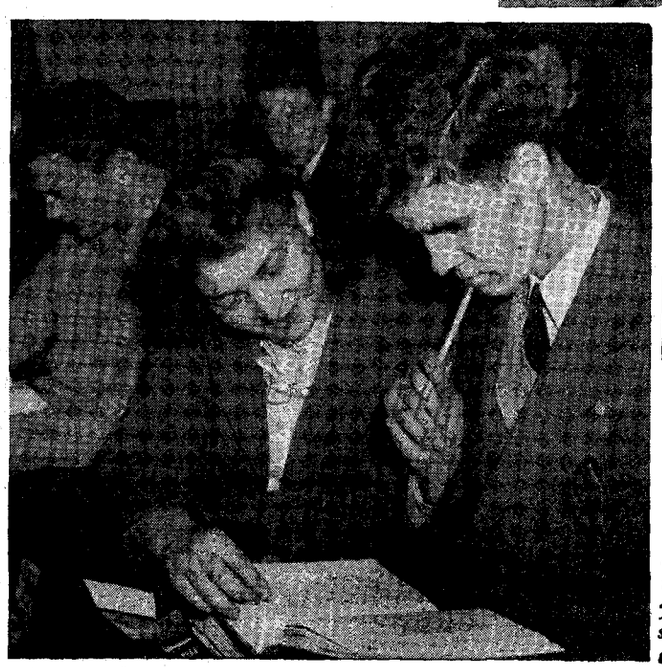
One way of introducing ex-servicemen to the regular college curriculum are special semi-tutorial classes for small groups. Mathematics has been given a new impetus by the war. Most men realize how much of modern life is based on mathematics.

no longer trouble him, because there is that happy feeling of certainty that in X-months it will all be over.

(*Continued on next page*)



Sports and occasional recreation are part of their college life. This ex-serviceman, kept from joining the varsity teams by a knee injury, enjoys informal baseball games with his campus friends. *I. N. Phot.*



Sometimes veterans find it difficult to pick up the threads of learning that were severed months or years ago. But fellow-students are always glad to shed a little light on obscure passages for a former soldier.

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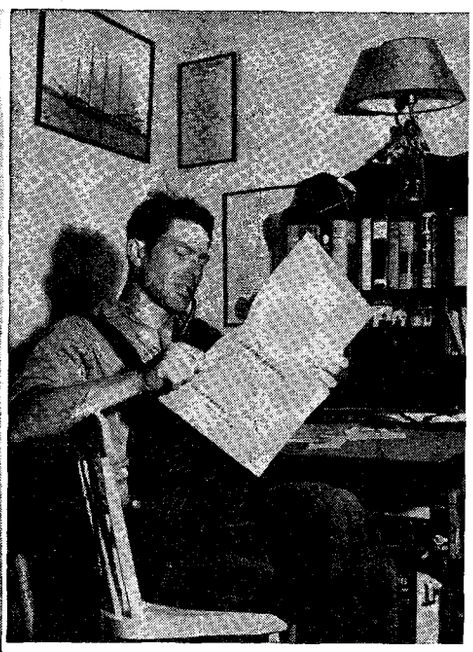

Former Lt. Stannard at his desk. Farmers have more desk chores than most people realize. This one evidently occassionally enjoys good books, even poems. Photo of sailing boat is Stannard's own schooner, of which he was in command when only twenty-one years old.

FROM SAILOR TO FARMER

FROM SAILOR TO FARMER: The "reconversion" of a discharged Navy officer into a farmer is a different, but no less knotty problem. Lieutenant Malcolm Stannard solved it splendidly with some government aid.

Phot. Kosti Ruohomaa ★

ON the readaptation of the veteran to civilian life, on his integration into the democratic and economic process, the fate of many democracies will depend to a great extent. If logic alone were to guide human beings, the problem would be very simple. The civilians have no greater desire than to see the veterans come home and be happy,

Hoeing may be hard work—but on your own land it gets a new meaning. The Stannards raise plenty of vegetables, enough for themselves and for cash-sales in addition.

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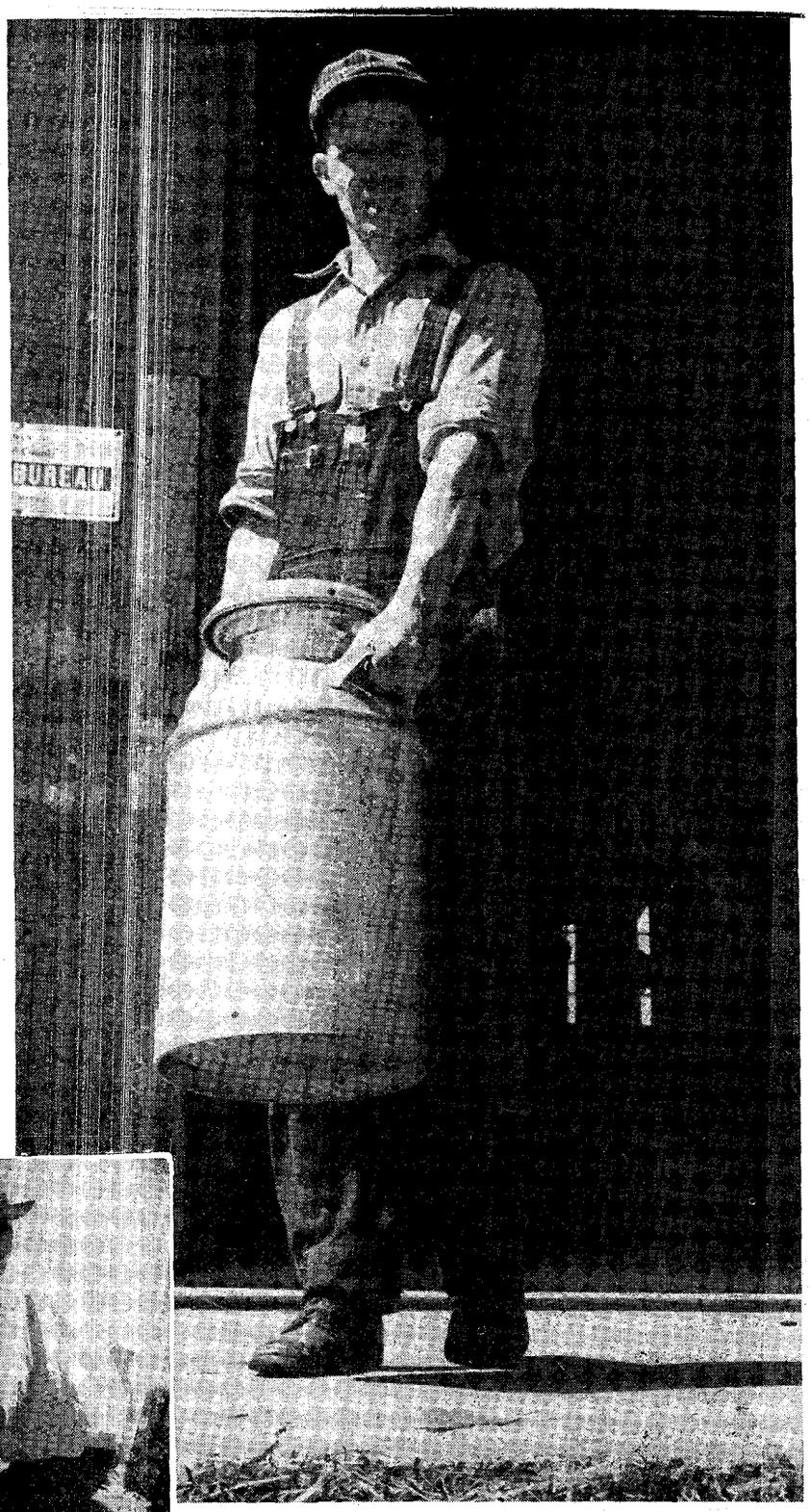
ıd the veterans have no more cred hope than to come home. ach veteran comes home to a fam- y, a circle of friends, a neighbor- ood. If he were to think, whenever e is irked by civilians, that the vast ıd anonymous group of civilians re all relatives, friends or neigh- ors of other veterans, he would ealize that there are no two human- ies—one the humanity of veterans, nd the other the humanity of civil- ıns—but that both are inextricably ound together.

One doesn't retain the status of ivilian by a personal decision. In his war particularly, the civilian vas subject to the will of the gov- rnment almost as much as the oldier was. It was the government ınd the legislative bodies which de- ermined from what age to what ıge one remained a civilian; what ohysical and other requirements were necessary to become a soldier; ınder what circumstances one re- nained home as a war worker or as ı farmer.

Had the war required three times ıs many soldiers, there is no doubt hat twenty million more Americans would have left home for the battle- field. The readiness for service



FROM SAILOR TO FARMER:
The step from Navy duty to milkshed is no easy one. But to increase his small herd by buying more cows with his FSA loan was one of the first things this veteran did in order to put his 230-year-old farm on a paying basis. Part of the loan was spent to put barn into sound condition.

County agents of FSA, with their thorough knowledge of agricultural problems and local conditions, are of great help. This one, Silas Weeks, sees ex-servicemen in his county frequently, is always sure of welcome reception, has made many friends.

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within the United Nations was truly universal during the war.

But logic alone does not determine human relationship. The veteran comes home with the consciousness of work well done and he is rightly convinced that society owes him a well-remunerated job. If he finds it, then all is well. The security of work, added to the personal assurance which every man who has been in battle has gained, is a superb combination and often results in splendid leadership. A veteran has a good sense of organization and is generally in the habit of regarding his fellow-citizen as an equal, just as he used to do in the Army.

However, the picture changes completely when the homecoming veteran does not find adequate working facilities when he looks for one job after another. Then he begins to hate the "Civilian" as an entity; then he is susceptible to all kinds of "explanations" about the kind of people who have "taken his job." Usually the scapegoats are foreigners—Jews, Negroes, Poles, etc. That is when the real crisis begins, when the veteran's terrific sense of comradeship and solidarity is turned against the "outsiders." The "outsiders" are not only fellow citizens of different origin or of the next town,

(*Continued on page 16*)

Malcolm Stannard loves cattle. By increasing herd and intensifying dairy farming he was able to make ends meet and to pay back FSA loan.

Farm machinery was in pretty bad shape. Stannard got things fixed, drives his new tractor with skill and the pride of an old skipper.

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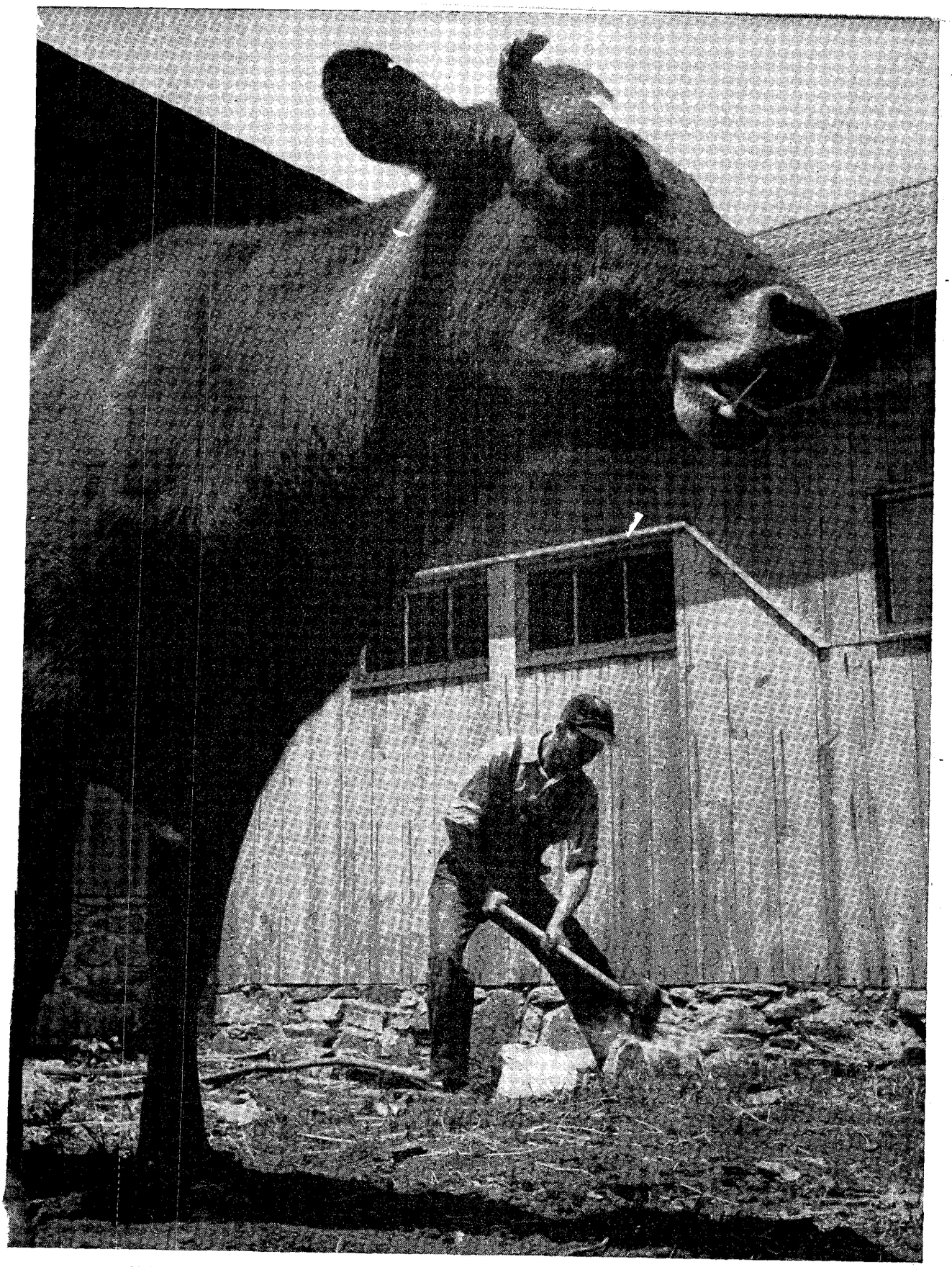

Malcolm Stannard was brought up on a farm in Connecticut, ran away to sea while still a boy. When 21 he was skipper of his own vessel in the West Indies trade. Later he worked on newspapers, married, had just settled down on an old ramshackle farm when Pearl Harbor and his Navy commission came. Government help after his medical discharge gave him a sound basis for making his farm a going concern. More than 1000 farm loans have been made to ex-soldiers. If veterans have adequate farm experience they may apply for FSA loans. *Phot. Kosti Ruohomaa* ★

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Kitchen equipment is modern. Beside the old coal range is a new electric stove and refrigerator. Most of their food comes from their own land.

but are also usually the allies of yesterday—the people whom the fascists are attacking today.

These are the reasons why everything must be done in order to reorientate the veteran as soon as he steps down the gangplank and to give him, right from the beginning, the feeling that he belongs not only to his family but also to his community, and to the national and the world community. No greater task has ever confronted leaders of large and small communities.

The veteran will often show a certain impatience or have a tendency to withdraw from society. Sometimes his thinking will appear very complex. That is where progressive men and women can help by explaning and discussing with the veteran the various affairs of the community. They can create that common exchange and help the nation as a whole to profit by the

(Continued on page 18)

Mrs. Stannard's chief responsibilities are the farmhouse and the vegetable patch. She sometimes drives the tractor and helps with other chores.

The Government loan put the Stannards on their feet. Hard work and intelligent planning paid dividends. They feel secure and are proud of their achievements. They know that their own well-being depends on world-wide prosperity. They are looking beyond the borders of their own country, realizing world interdependence.

Phot. Kosti Ruohomaa★

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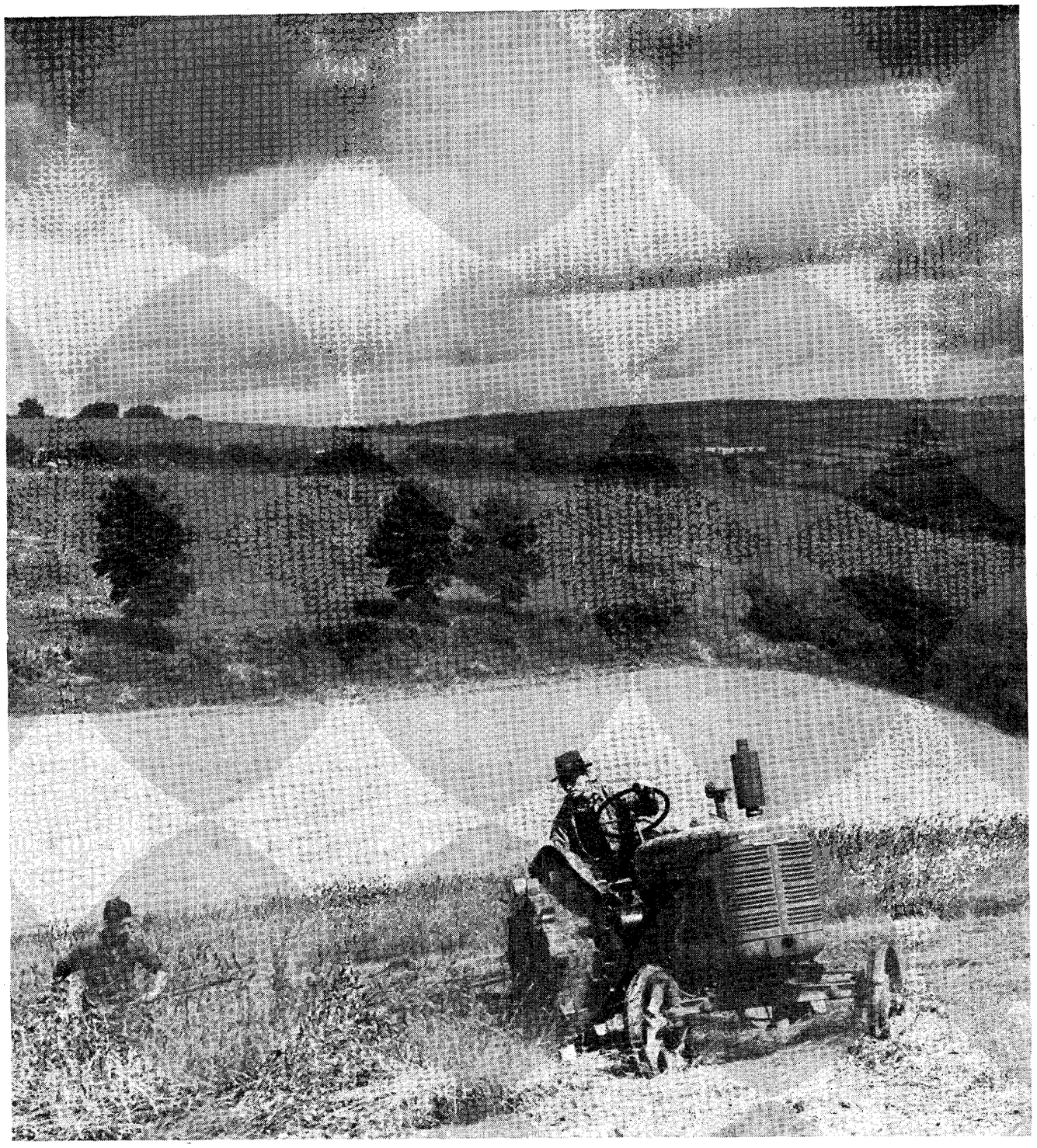
"DEMOBBED" SOLDIERS IN ENGLAND



ENGLAND HAS THE SAME PROBLEMS AS U. S.

England's problems in returning servicemen to civilian life are similar to our own. Resettling veterans on farms is part of their adopted plan. The Government pays 3 pounds per week while the former soldiers learn to work on farms and later helps to set up veterans on their own land.

Here former Royal Artilleryman A. Shrimpton is learning to be a farmer. Walking behind a tractor, he is turning over hay as it is cut. He says: "The job makes you fit for anything." ***I. N. Phot.***

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Back from the battle of the seas, former Merchant Navy Stoker, Harry Trehearn, who was torpedoed in 1942 and had to spend a year or more in hospitals for removal of shrapnel splinters, is now realizing his life's ambition to be a farmer. Here he learns how to hoe—the secret is the correct adjustment of the knives in the hoeing machine.

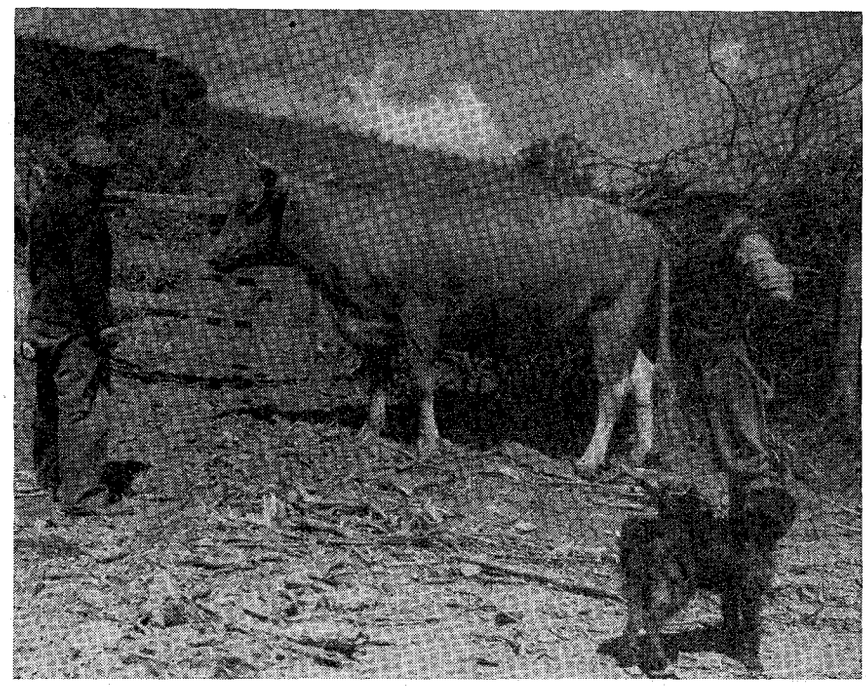
Harry learns how to clean a dirty spark plug for the tractor under the expert tuition of an old farm hand. Knowledge of machinery is now an absolute necessity in England, where mechanized farming was accepted only lately.

let this tremendous national asset go to waste. That is why the battle for full employment now being fought in Washington, London and the other United Nations affects not only the fate of the G.I. or the worker, but actually affects humanity.

(*Continued from page 16*)

combined experiences of both veterans and civilians.

The homecoming veteran, in general, is neither liberal nor anti-liberal. The Army pattern does not favor the development of particular political tendencies. The Army in most cases will have raised the average level of education of the G.I. The veteran is better equipped for all kinds of jobs. His technological adaptability has been considerably increased by application of the various types of training he has received throughout the war. There is a great reserve of energy in him which he wants to spend, and a resourcefulness which he wants to apply. The important thing is not to



Harry may be expert in things nautical, but the handling of cows is quite another matter. Here the veteran sailor receives a lesson in how to approach cattle.

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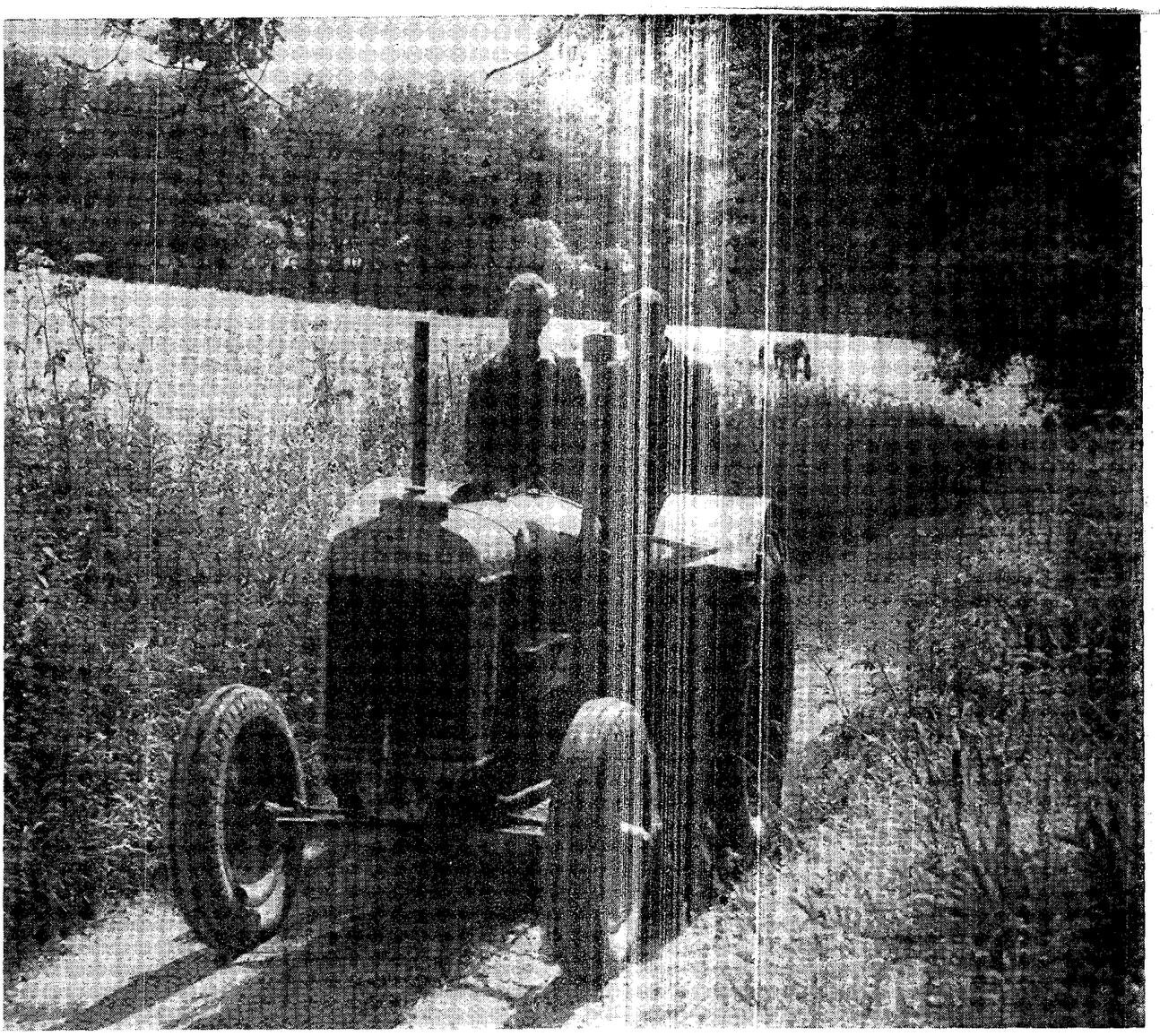
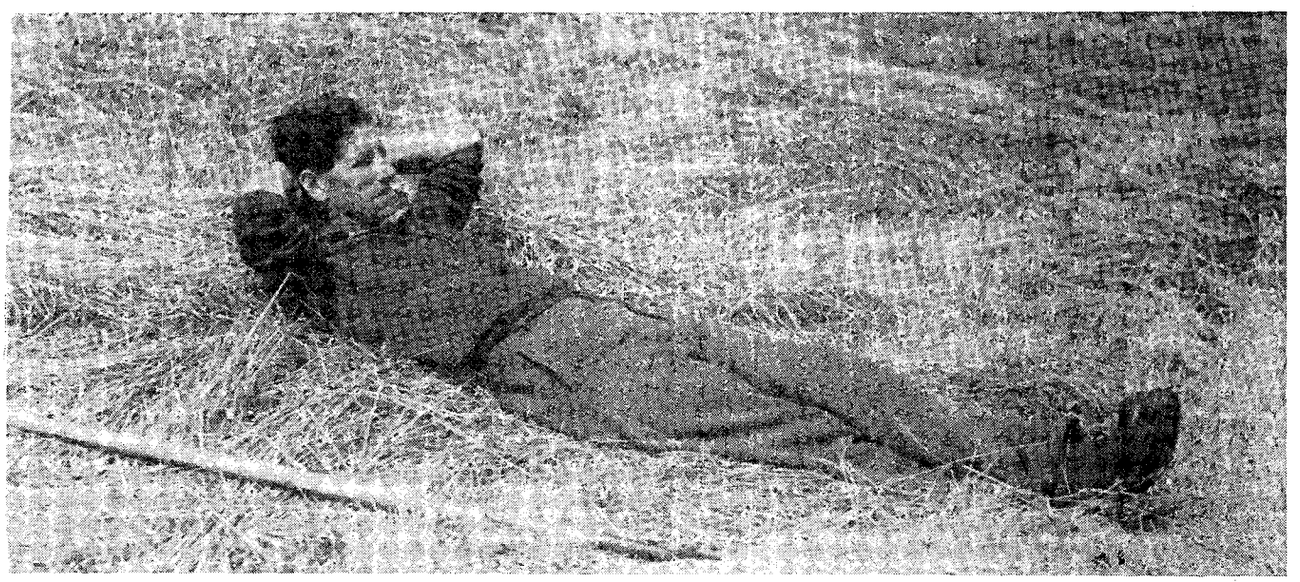


Albert Shrimpton, 38 years old, formerly of the Royal Artillery, is learning how to handle a tractor (which is, incidentally, of American design). Later the former soldier will receive a loan and be set up on his own farm.



Never was hard soil such a soft pillow while Harry was still in the army. But now, after a strenuous day of farm work, there is no sweeter place than a haystack to dream of the fulfillment of his ambition to turn weapons into plowshares, to be a farmer.

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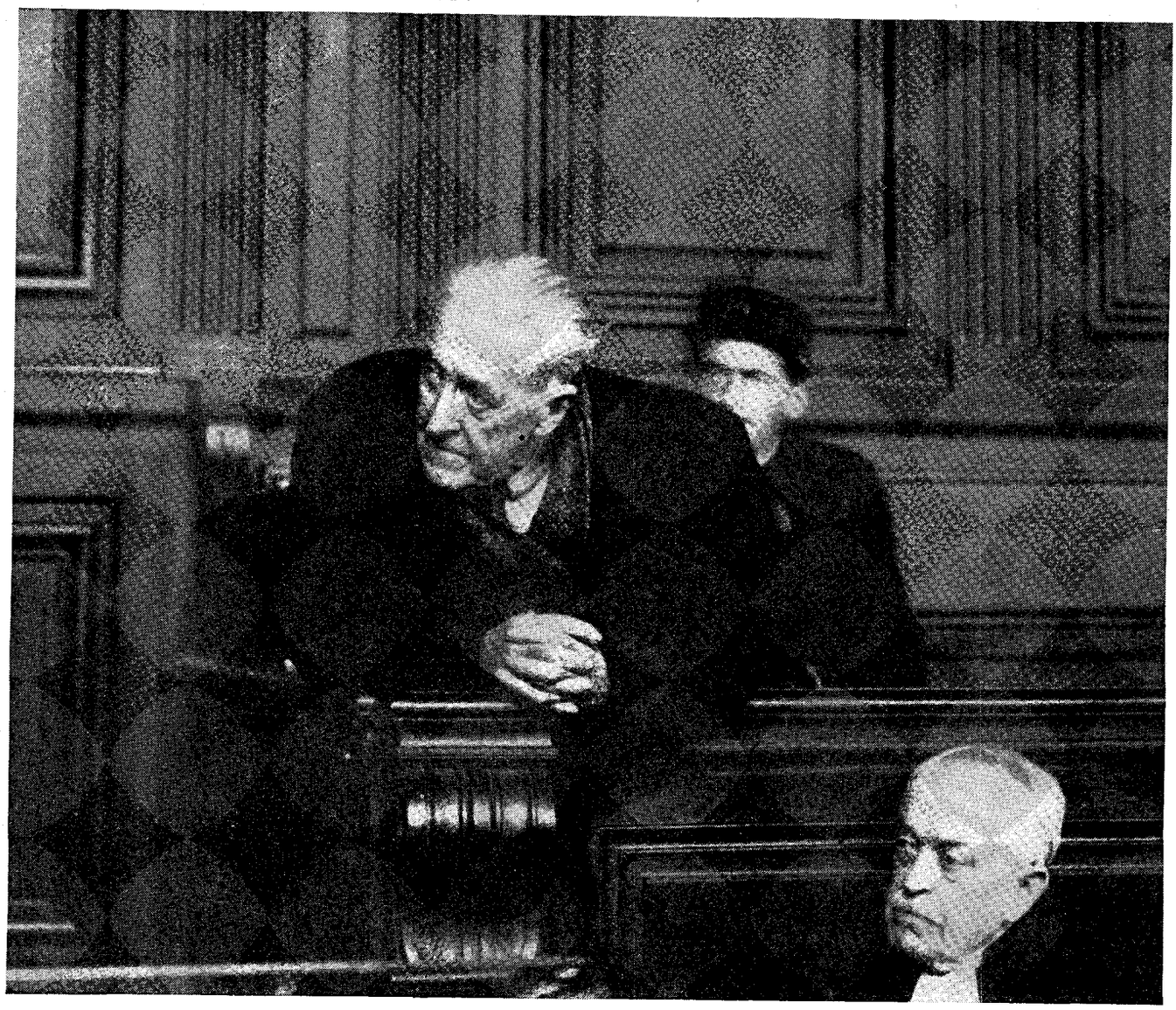

What kind of people are these Quislings and collaborationists? Paul Chack, who was condemned to death by the courts in Paris, was a former French Navy Officer and well-known writer. He was a highly intelligent man but nevertheless a traitor to his country. Was he just a cantankerous evil old man? Is the fact a clue that many traitors were elderly people dreaming of "good old days?"

Photo: French Press Service

A DISEASE — QUISLINGISM

WHAT KIND OF PEOPLE ARE THOSE QUISLINGS?

THE defeat of Germany and the capitulation of Japan have rung the death knell of Quislingism, the disease of treason which derives its name from Adolph Hitler's Norwegian collaborator No. 1: Vidkun Quisling.

In Spain, where the device of the "fifth column" was inaugurated, General Franco agreed to become the underling of fascist Italy and nazi Germany in order to enjoy the prestige of nominal power.

The use of unscrupulous men, of ambitious adventurers, resentful of their own countries which did not discern their "political genius," existed before Hitler. The fuehrer succeeded in transforming this method into a real science.

Before Quisling there was Franco, and before Franco, Wang-Ching-Wei in China, a man upon whom honors were lavishly bestowed by the Chinese Republic but who did not hesitate to sell out to Tokyo. Finally, there was Hacha, who agreed to become Hitler's Czechoslovakian protégé.

The use of Quislings became part of the nazi pattern of behavior in 1940. In the years when Hitler's shadow was hovering over Europe, "this is a Quisling" became the worst of accusations. The Quislings

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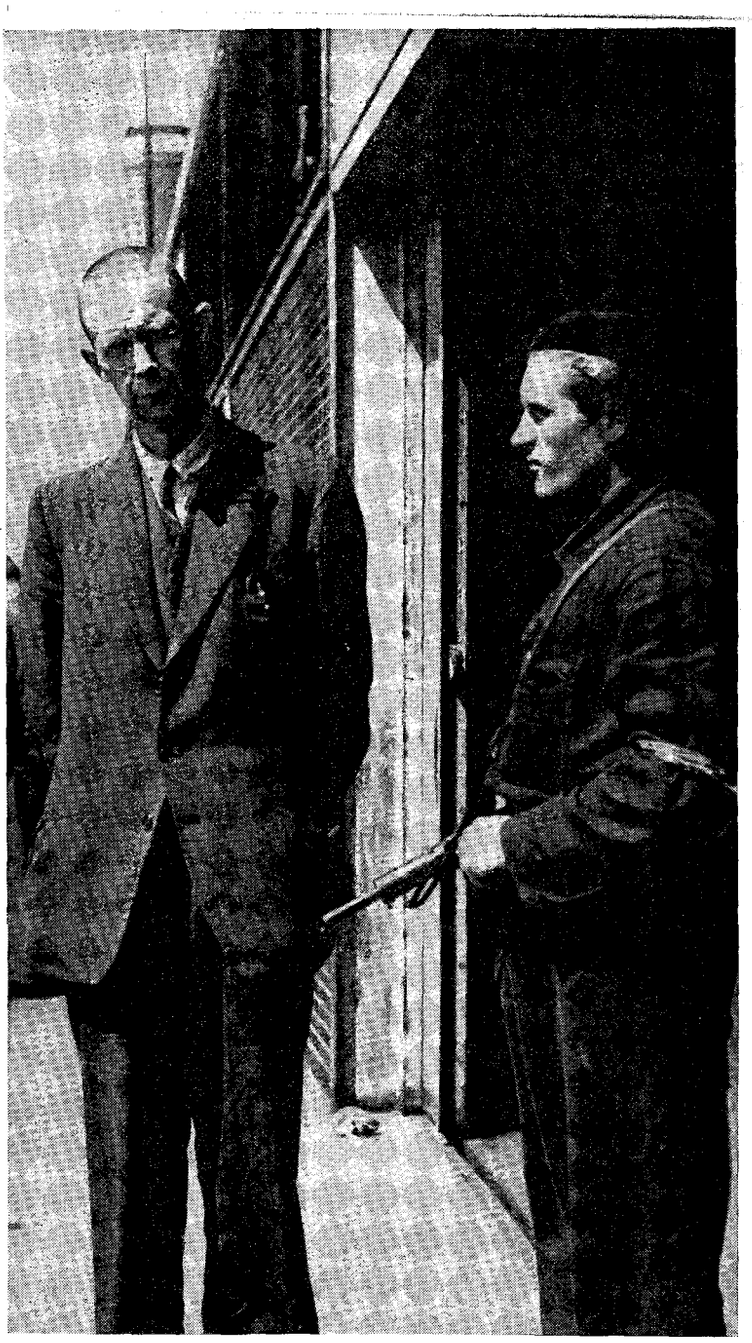
handed over patriots to the Gestapo. One could find them everywhere. To name only the most important ones, France had Petain and Laval; Holland—Mussert; Belgium—De Grelle; Yugoslavia—Neditch; Romania—Antonescu; Bulgaria—the King himself. These men executed Berlin orders while speaking "collaboration."

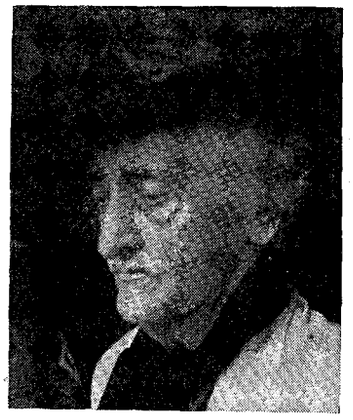
Now, brought to trial by the people, they look for extenuating circumstances and insist that their goal was to outwit the Germans. The defense counsel of Marshal Petain unsuccessfully tried this approach. One of Petain's lawyers had unwittingly killed this argument. He produced before the court one of the Marshal's notes which stated that Vichy, in sentencing to death General De Gaulle, never had the intention to carry out the sentence and aimed at only one thing—to prevent officers from joining the Free French. The poor lawyer was unaware that by producing this document he buried the hard-worked argument of Vichy's double-edged policy. Indeed, why should Vichy bear down upon patriotic officers, if its policy was double-edged?

Now that the joy of victory is ours, the Quislings look like poor stuff indeed, puppets of a broken-



Close-up of a Dutch collaborator in the Vought Concentration Camp who was once one of the ruthless members of the Gestapo. No better illustration of "brutality" could be found for a textbook on physiognomics. ***Photos: Netherlands Information Bureau***

It is a remarkable observation that many nazi followers were misfits or monstrosities. The club-footed Dr. Goebbels is only one of many similar cases. The deeper correlation between the deeds of this man, Professor Van Dam, former Secretary-General of the Dutch Ministry of Education, responsible for the nazification of Dutch schools and universities, and his bodily appearance is a matter of conjecture for scientists.



This sweet-looking Dutch lady, eighty-three years old, is responsible for the betrayal of 50 of her countrymen. Is senile irresponsibility an explanation?

★

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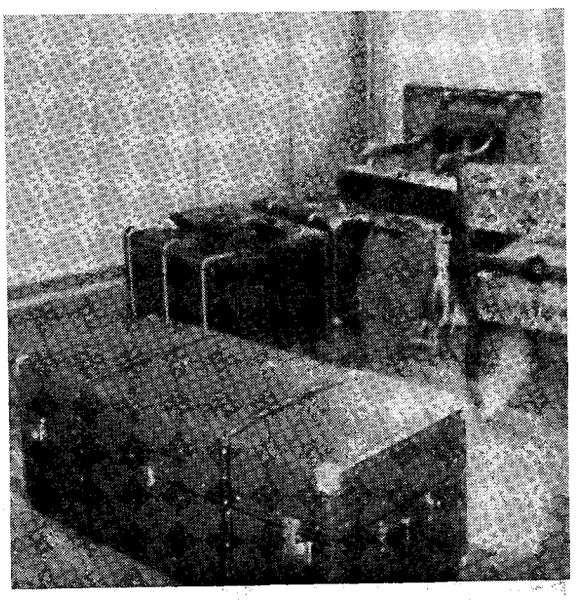
An unflattering portrait of the Norwegian traitor VIDKUN QUISLING—but not half as disgusting. . . .

. . . as this photograph, showing the nazi traitor surrounded by youthful members of the Norwegian "Hird." The picture was taken in Quisling's "palace" "GIMLE" which he used as headquarters during his reign as nazi puppet.

down system. But it is enough to think for one moment about the way they made use of their power to be convinced that the people must not shirk their duty in exacting justice, no matter how repulsive these broken puppets may be. For Quislingism is not a cured disease. Whenever and wherever there may be new fascist movements under new names, Quislings will reappear and clothe themselves with the virtues of patriotism, love of order and social justice, to cover up their bad deeds.

The trials of the Quislings are more than mere acts of justice. To educate the peoples to be on guard against potential Quislings, the trials should above all be public classes in the art of detecting the symptoms of Quislingism, of seeing



The luggage which Quisling had hoped to take with him to prison when he was arrested. He was disappointed. Phot. UNIO.

through the various disguises used, of uncovering the utter ruthlessness and decay of men who have fallen to this low estate.

FREE WORLD is disturbed that the trials of the Quislings which are taking place now are not receiving sufficient coverage in the press and radio. Perhaps the respective editors do not consider them as top news events, apart from announcing the sentences. But we believe that it is essential for the American people and for the people of all the other United Nations to be fully

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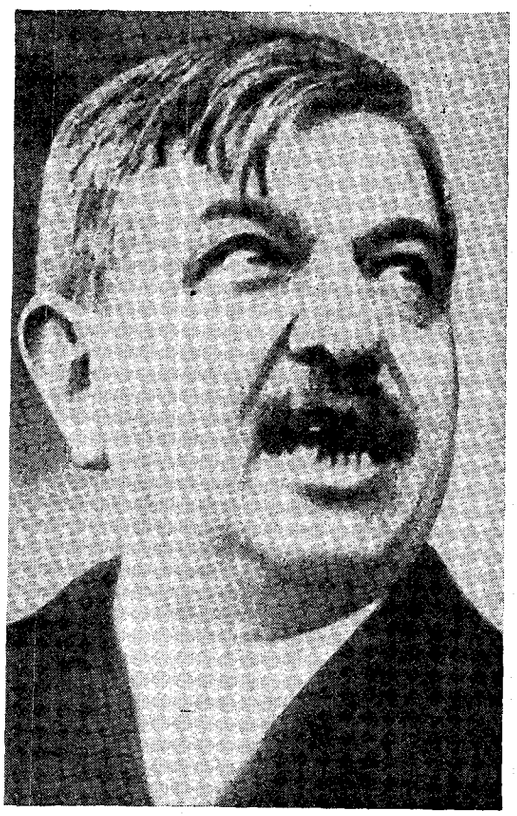
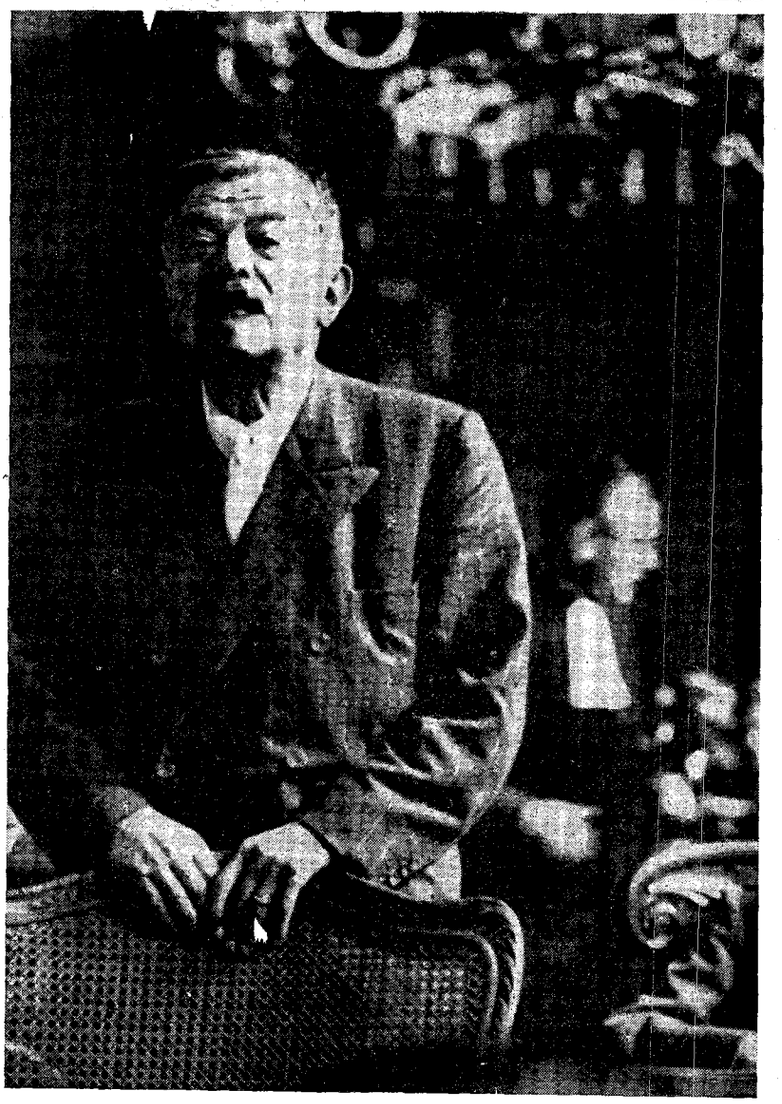


Laval at the height of his power—insolent, cruel, shrewd, sure of himself because he was sure of a German victory.



Laval at the end of his rope, testifying at the Petain trial.

AP. Phot.

This ... picture of Laval, retouched by a Frenchman who painted swastikas on the collar, the tie and the flag, wrote the words "Et Voila," added devil's claws to his fingertips, and sent it to the BBC in London during the occupation. Evidently he didn't feel any need to retouch the facial expression.

Wide World Phot.

acquainted with every aspect and quirk of Quisling mentality.

In the first few days of Vidkun Quisling's trial it became apparent that years before Norway was invaded he was already negotiating with the Germans, delivering military information and studying with them the plans of the invasion —and all this under the guise of patriotism and anti-bolshevism. The records of such trials are indispensable for any freedom-loving citizen to acquaint himself with the incredible workings of a fascist mentality, because the United Nations victory unfortunately has not yet eradicated completely the dangers of fascism and Quislingism. What is needed is more than a purely physical suppression. What is needed is a moral wall of resistance against the temptations of disguised fascistic thinking, and the Quisling trials offer the best documentation.

See "Laval as Extortionist" on page 3

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French Press Service

FRENCH UNDERGROUND IN ACTION: Now it can be shown: members of the F.F.I. clearing away burned German vehicles on the main roads to facilitate the advance of Allied troops across Northern France.

INSIDE THE FRENCH UNDERGROUND

CAPTAIN LUCIENNE MARCHAND before the war led a quiet family life. Under the occupation, like thousands of others, she took up arms to defend the freedom of France and the world.

While we were going to press we received an invitation to witness the presentation in Washington of the Medal of Resistance by General Brossin de St. Didier, Chief of the French Military Mission to the United States, to Captain Marchand. Unfortunately, being at the printer's made it impossible for us to attend, but we want to express to her our warmest congratulations. Her dramatic story appears on page 62.

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THE ATOM AGE

BY LOUIS DOLIVET

ONE single bomb has put an end to the old controversy between nationalism and internationalism. The fact that research on the atomic bomb and theoretical knowledge about it was pretty well advanced in the United States, England, Canada, Soviet Russia, France, Germany and the Scandinavian countries, indicates that we are facing not an isolated phenomenon but a stage of science in which atomic energy will be released sooner or later everywhere. This point is further emphasized by the very composition of the group of brilliant scientists who brought about the first results, representing as they did many nationalities and so-called races.

The atomic bomb utilizes the vast scientific background of all humanity, and the atomic energy is unlike energy derived from such raw materials as oil, coal and from other sources of power which a country has or has not. Atomic energy is a scientific product which every country can have in the same way that it can have great mathematicians, writers or poets.

Thus, the second industrial revolution, a thousand times more swift and far-reaching than the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century, does more to modify the traditional concept of national sovereignty than all the theoretical discussions put together. Today *the time has come for global political planning and for a world federation* which, while maintaining the national characteristics and traditions of its component parts, must be able to coordinate atomic research and the utilization of this gigantic newly discovered force—atomic energy.

We do not agree with those who think that the San Francisco Charter and world organization have become completely useless. They are important transitions on the road to something that must come very soon—a world federation with a world government.

* * * * * * *

NEVER before in history have so many events been compressed into so short a period as the five major happenings of the last few weeks. The earth-shaking cycle began with the British elections and rose in impressive crescendo to the atom bomb and the Japanese surrender.

The results of the British elections served notice on a surprised world that the people of Britain had decided to leave behind them a whole tradition of conservative government, for the completely new experiment of democratic semi-socialism.

Had the outside world observed more closely the program of the opposing Conservative and Labor parties, they would have understood better the real aspirations of the British people. The choice was not between strong and weak personalities. It was between two basic philosophies. The one has controlled England for decades

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and centuries. The other promised the British people not only better living conditions through partial socialization of their economy, but also a new political leadership in a world that was slowly being reduced to two main concepts: capitalism and communism.

Britain's Labor party had often hinted during the elections—it was indeed very well understood by the people—that it wanted to assume this new position, synthesizing the two giant political and economic ideologies that embrace most of the world.

* * * * * * *

THE British 'election was followed by the signing of the Potsdam agreement. With this agreement it became clear that the system of consultations between the Big Three powers was not exclusively dependent upon the founders of that system, namely, Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill. Two of the three had disappeared. Normally, any such partnership, whose two-thirds membership had changed, might be expected to undergo at least a temporary crisis of readaptation. The interesting thing historically concerning the Potsdam conference is that President Truman emulated President Roosevelt by assuming the dominant role, and that Attlee carried on without a break where Churchill had left off. The relationship among the Big Three ceased to be a matter of personalities and became an institution.

A brief announcement sealed the fate of the greatest military power on the Continent. It made possible peaceful coexistence of the armies of Russia, Britain, France, America and Poland on the soil of a country whose territory might have become a bone of contention among them. Even more significant, we learn that the fourth greatest city of the world can be administered by four different nations.

* * * * * * *

OUR attention was still directed to the various articles of the Potsdam agreement, when the world—which thought that the era of big surprises had passed—woke up to the biggest surprise of all, the atomic bomb. Whether the bomb should or should not have been used, whether its invention constitutes progress or retrogression for humanity, are questions with too many ramifications to be debated here. They can be no more satisfactorily answered than could the whole controversy about the machine age, airplanes and the industrial revolution.

The total number of victims of the two atomic bombs is said by Japan to be 300,000 dead, injured and homeless, in the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It is, moreover, horrifying to contemplate the instantaneous and utter devastation that was wrought within a few seconds.

But I wonder whether the deaths of the tens of millions of people killed since the aggression in Manchuria in 1931, though spread over a longer period, were more

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humane. I wonder whether it was more humane for all governments to tolerate the series of aggressions of the fascist regime, knowing how many people underwent indescribable sufferings because of them. Truly humane persons are not those who merely decry the weight and impact of a weapon of destruction—but rather, those who every day and every moment think about the processes of life and of society and take measures that will make the use of all destructive weapons impossible. More important than whether we should have used the bomb is now the question of whether we are going to use this energy we have discovered for the increased well-being of humanity: to develop our material riches to unknown heights, to preserve the power and energies of human beings for the higher arts of an intellectual and cultural development which shall at last reach the common man of the earth.

* * * * * * *

WHILE we were still pondering this latest event, while the man in the street displayed an unprecedented interest in the scientific background of atomic energy, while the atom bomb became the first subject of conversation in this and all other lands—Russia entered the war against Japan.

A hundred days of waiting suddenly came to an end and speculation began: "Did they join the fight because of the atomic bomb? Did they agree to come in before we used the atomic bomb?" A small question of time—just three months—was suddenly of historic importance, affecting the whole relationship of the western world to Russia. When President Truman announced that the agreement had been reached previously and that Russia had acted according to her promise, a world that had risked being divided was drawn together more closely than ever before.

* * * * * * *

AS the United Nations drafted their answer to the surrender bid of the Japanese, a high state of tension existed in many countries. Everyone became a diplomat. Everyone drafted the answer. And when it came, the answer was a surprise. It was just as cleverly drafted as the Japanese offer. It by-passed the Emperor by putting him under the orders of the Allied Commander-in-Chief. The plain people were not used to such subtleties. They understood just one thing—the Emperor, that arch-criminal, was retained. There was a sense of let-down coupled with an immense, inexpressible relief that the end had come; like that at a boxing match won by a technical knock-out.

World War II has come to an end but the problems which have brought it about, as well as the new problems it has created, have just begun. On the home fronts these problems are full employment and full democracy. On the international fronts the problem is to move on through the transitional stage of the security organization created at San Francisco toward the World Federation.

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NOW OR NEVER

BY ORSON WELLES

Our readers almost certainly remember the Famous Martian invasion broadcast by Orson Welles in 1938 when a million people were thrown into panic by his adaptation of H. G. Wells "The War of the Worlds". Among the closing lines of Mr. Welles' broadcast was this one:—"We annihilated the world before your very ears." By now the gigantic hoax can become a terrible reality and the author is writing in deadly seriousness about the important decisions which humanity has to make since the mastery of atomic energy.

WHEN H. G. Wells wrote "The War of the Worlds," the possibility that our planet might ever be in total peril was scarcely a matter of scientific concern.

More recently, when a broadcast on the same theme was presented over one of the networks a certain proportion of the citizenry paid the fiction a huge compliment by taking it all quite seriously. This editor who was guilty of that notorious spoof is quite innocent of the prophetic gift. The news of the conquest of the atom may not have surprised Mr. Wells, but Mr. Welles has not yet recovered from the shock. His first thoughts were probably also yours; suppose the fascists had made the atomic bomb before us?

What will *we* do with it? Will we use it to end war, . . . or to end the world?

* * * * * * *

IT is certainly a new age we have entered, and all at once . . . either the last in our history, or the first age in the life of civilization as this sudden future will count it.

Now we can outlive the earth itself, or else perish in savagery as we began.

It is the old choice, as old as Eden, but the men in the laboratories have given it the desperate immediacy of the battle.

Life or death.

Now or Never.

With this infernal energy we can make a bonfire of all our works, empty our cities, scrape the living crust of earth off the planet, and blast our habitation into a spinning globe of ash.

Or we can plant a garden here. Another Eden.

* * * * * * *

THE atomic bomb is a thousand years ahead of the San Francisco Charter. If it forces mere stalemate between the nations, if it only freezes, in a numb and fearful truce, the aggregations of power, this terrible, wonderful new strength will finally break all that it builds, all that has been built, all that could be used for building. It is gift or curse, according to the use it finds. Gift, if the stuff imprisoned in the bomb is liberated for the service of humanity. Gift, if it helps all the peoples to full

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creative living. Then surely, it is the final, valid currency of peace. But if it buys no more than an armistice between push buttons, it is the curse of Cain, and we have come this far only to dance in flames.

The atomic bomb calls for a new charter, for a new conference. For decisions reached audaciously to match the audacity of the bomb itself. It makes a fresh demand for courage, and an end of compromise and cowardice.

* * * * * * *

THE alternative to Chaos is grander than all dreams, and we are greater than our dreams.

We, the living, are the ancestors of a people who will be, truly, men like Gods. We will not fail them.

Among all creatures the human has the marvelous bent for the art of survival. The universe is none too big for him.

Man is no puny thing. He is greater than all his tools. He burned himself with the first fire, but there came a day when he built a forge, and made a plow.

Today man turns the key in the last padlock of power. Tomorrow he will be worthy of his freedom.

Visa Bureaucrats Endanger Cooperation

Since mentioning, in our last issue, visa difficulties for United Nations citizens traveling in various countries, we have received additional information and many requests to pursue our campaign. Many prominent businessmen, particularly those in the field of the motion picture industry, have lost much precious time in getting their visas to France and other European countries. Every requests for a visa, even for a transit visa, is submitted to the respective foreign office which certainly is not as well informed on the case as is the Consul in the United States. It takes four weeks or more to get an answer, following long-winded, endless cable exchanges.

An American labor leader who recently visited France and England came into our office and described his visa Odyssey. First a long form had to be filled in at the British consulate in New York. Then, when he arrived in London, he had to spend hours at the police department in order to obtain his identification card. Since he planned to make his stay in London very brief, this lost time greatly hampered him in the accomplishment of his business.

When he finished his work in England, he wanted to go on to Paris. He arrived at the French consulate in the morning, and after filling in the necessary questionnaires, waited until he was told that the Consul had left for luncheon. He returned in the afternoon, and it was not until late in the day that he finally got his visa. His original plan for a three-day visit was thus reduced to 48 hours.

The same situation applies to other European countries—particularly in Eastern Europe. Yugoslavia and Greece are the toughest of the lot. It is well known that Allied newspapermen encounter particular difficulty in Eastern Europe. The various foreign offices and visa officials have simply kept all the wartime red tape, and transplanted it into the peace era.

We strongly urge the foreign offices of the United Nations to come to a speedy agreement on the freedom of travel which is one of the most essential requirements for the establishment of true international cooperation. In principle, every United Nations passport should be valid for brief stays of from 30-60 days in any Allied country. The government that issues a passport should be considered sufficiently responsible for the reliability of its citizens.

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Free WORLD's Headliner:

T R U M A N

The Common Man who came to Dinner at the White House

by ROSCOE DRUMMOND

IT is, to many, less than comprehensible that Harry S. Truman—the Common Man who came to Dinner at the White House—could so instantly and so effectively succeed President Roosevelt in the grand councils of the Big Three.

But there can be no doubt now, in the wake of the Potsdam decisions which reflected American views at numerous vital points, that President Truman—from whom so little was expected by so many—accomplished much.

The American people today figuratively, almost literally, draw a sigh of relief when they contemplate the significant and successful role which Truman played at the Berlin Conference with Premier Stalin, former Prime Minister Churchill and later with Prime Minister Attlee. They are reassured; they are gratified; they are, to a degree, surprised.

Little wonder that we are, at least at first, surprised even as we are relieved. Truman was entering something of a political camaraderie in which three of the world's greatest leaders, three of the world's most distinguished personalities, had already established a special relationship and *rapport* with each other. There can be no doubt that the Big Three of Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill represented a council of personal greatness.

Truman had the credentials, but did he have the qualifications?

The results suggest that he did, and from some knowledge and some association with him —such association as Washington newspaper correspondents invariably have with an accessible and affable Vice-President—I believe I know the reason.

In about even proportions President Truman is endowed with humility and self-confidence. His humility springs from the fact that he recognizes that he is not an unusual man, that he is not outstandingly brilliant intellectually, nor possessed of special genius at diplomacy. His self-confidence springs from the fact that he is profoundly aware of his role and responsibility, his authority and his weight as President of the United States.

I think I can say with knowledge that Harry S. Truman went to the Berlin Conference not to take the place of Franklin Roosevelt—a place which he knew that personally he was not ready to occupy—but to represent 130,000,000 American people whom he profoundly believed deserved the greatest respect, the greatest consideration, the greatest evidence of trust and loyalty and cooperation he could command in their behalf.

Nothing was more foreign to Truman's mind than the frequently repeated newspaper suggestion that he was joining the Big Three in a high-powered international poker game, or that the outcome of such a meeting of the authorized spokesmen of Russia, Britain and the United States would largely be determined by the battle of wits which would take place across the conference table.

The truth is that President Truman was neither awed by the prospect of what he was facing nor—it can now be said in retrospect—was he disconcerted by the experience. The reason is that he did not try to act nor to appear to be anything other than what he really was, a simple, straight-forward, alert, decisive, friendly man who believed implicitly in the greatness of

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the American people—and thereby drew greatness from the American people—and who was utterly convinced that the United States must promote a free world if it is to preserve a free America.

At Potsdam Truman, in his first grand test at international diplomacy, simply put into practice his oft-expressed conviction that a solution can be found for every legitimate controversy, and he contributed greatly to establishing the mood of the conference. He succeeded to the chairmanship, and in presiding over the sessions he is known to have added a geniality and an infectious friendliness not unmixed with a quiet pressure to get things done. He was ready to explore every constructive compromise and to encourage his colleagues to do the same.

VIEWING the Berlin Conference as the climax of the first phase of the Truman Administration, I am inclined to suggest this estimate of the President's international record:

1. From the beginning of his first forty-eight hours in the White House Truman has shown decision, initiative and imagination.

2. Truman shares utterly the view of President Roosevelt that the United States must, to quote one of his pre-White House speeches, "assume world leadership" and he has acted to implement that view without reservation. He believes that the only way the United States can keep out of war is to help keep war from breaking out anywhere in the world, and he has acted to put American power behind that policy. He fully realizes that political internationalism cannot live in a framework of economic isolationism. In getting Congress to pass Bretton Woods and renew the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, with power to negotiate a 50 per cent further reduction in tariffs, he has proved something of his capacity to fulfill his promises.

3. Truman has proved—or perhaps more accurately, the American people through President Truman have proved—that they do not necessarily require a great personality through which to exercise their leadership in world affairs and to achieve their national purposes. Even at the Berlin meeting of the Big Three, Truman's was essentially an impersonal diplomacy. He was not a dominating figure, according to the evidence, but he achieved results. Why? I suspect it was because Truman, not counting himself great, did count himself the chosen spokesman of a nation he judged unsurpassed, and that his words were as strong as the voice of the whole American people. There is reason to state that the President saw

Drawing by I. Opffer

it that way, and that this view of his role and of his right gave him power and persuasion.

4. Beyond the terms of the Potsdam communiqué and the decisions bearing directly on the liquidation of the war in Europe and on the future Allied control of Germany, Truman gave two additional demonstrations of significant diplomacy. He showed himself one who understands and practices the principle that America's first intelligent obligation to itself and to the world is to cooperate with Russia in return for equivalent cooperation from Russia. He revealed himself completely free from the minority prejudice in American opinion which would have timidly and, as some might think, shrewdly tried to keep Russia from entering the war against Japan. At Potsdam President Truman sought Russia's fullest and earliest participation in the Pacific war. He provided Premier Stalin with the best possible diplomatic formula for truly justifying Moscow's action against the Japanese. He cited Russia's obligations under the Moscow declaration and under the United Nations Charter, to act "on behalf of the community of nations" and he pointed out that this Charter commitment, as an instru-

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ment of international law, superseded Moscow's obsolescent neutrality pact with Tokyo. In this manner President Truman wisely and constructively made Russia's joining the struggle against Japan the first enforcement action of the United Nations—the Charter brought to life at a critical and crucial moment. Thereby Truman strengthened the power of the Allies in war and the principles of the United Nations in peace.

It is evident to all observers that President Truman developed rapidly during his first few months in office. This emergence was particularly noticeable to me in witnessing his opening and closing addresses to the United Nations Conference in San Francisco. They were separated by some two months of intensive experience in the White House. It was evident to all who observed him at the climactic session of the Conference on June 26 that the President was a different man—different in the realization of his capacities—from the one who greeted the Conference by radio from Washington on April 25. He spoke more vigorously, he declared himself more decisively, he handled himself with greater poise.

His address on the opening date had impressed the delegates as being tentative and uncertain in mood as in content. With Roosevelt suddenly removed from their midst, with Cordell Hull unable to leave Washington, the Conference at that stage conveyed the feeling of being rudderless and uncertain, thrown on its own without being quite ready for the full responsibility.

BUT it was visible to many—and this change is suggestive of the character and capacity which Truman displayed at Potsdam—that he had returned to San Francisco with a newly-found confidence and showed that he was ready to give the United States the kind of leadership which the United States was ready at last to give to the world. He delivered his simple but straightforward speech with a calmness of voice that implied a calmness of view. This time he gave the impression of readiness to direct, and while his speech was neither intellectually brilliant nor oratorically skilled, it conveyed a special integrity which was not lost.

It would be an overstatement to suggest that these statesmen from fifty United Nations were impressed by President Truman, the man. They were impressed by what he stood for and the way he stood for it.

The fact is that during his first forty-eight hours in the White House Truman disclosed an innate responsiveness to his responsibilities which forecast the growth he has demonstrated in the succeeding months. His first public act was to do something, not to stop something. Therein he revealed that he was aware that in times like the present doing nothing is no longer a means of avoiding mistakes. Doing nothing could be the greatest mistake. It will be recalled that Roosevelt's sudden death brought immediate suggestions from such persons as Chairman Connally of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, that the San Francisco Conference be postponed. At first blush this seemed tactful and discreet. President Truman intervened on the very evening of his succession, ordered the Conference to proceed as scheduled. Subsequent events have borne out the wisdom of his judgment.

Another early action by Truman revealed his adaptability and alertness and involved a decision of personal diplomacy on the Big Three level. The earlier conclusion of Moscow not to send Commissar Molotov to head the delegation at San Francisco had already thrown an advance cloud over the United Nations gathering. Mr. Truman saw an opportunity to get this decision reversed. Through Ambassador Harriman he directed a communication directly to Stalin stating that Molotov's presence would be a boon to the Conference, indicating that he would welcome an opportunity to meet him in the United States. Admittedly Mr. Truman held a powerful diplomatic card; namely, Stalin's desire for a first-hand report on Truman himself. No one could do a better job than Molotov. Thus the fact that Stalin acceded to Truman's suggestion is not surprising, but the fact that Truman saw his opportunity and played his powerful diplomatic card instantly and skillfully was evidence that the new President was far from a fumbler.

THERE is rather considerable opinion in the United States that Premier Stalin has emerged from all the Big Three conferences the voracious winner. It may indeed be accurate to say that on territorial and reparations decisions Stalin has come nearest to having his own way. But it must not be forgotten that the first conference in which President Truman participated dealt almost exclusively with the liquidation of the European war. Just as Russia has the greatest stake in the security decisions in Eastern Europe, so the United States will have the greatest stake in the security decisions in the Pacific. The American stake in the European settlement is a workable peace and provi-

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sion for maximum political freedom, so that the liberated peoples can have governments of their own free choosing.

The Potsdam decisions contributed appreciably to that end. The results reflected American views at numerous vital points. Among many these can be listed briefly:

1. The opening of Poland to the Allied Press both before and during the "free and unfettered elections."

2. The assurance that the news blackout throughout Eastern Europe – apparently with the present exception of Yugoslavia—is to be lifted. This is a victory not merely for journalistic freedom but for political freedom.

3. The extension of American and British authority in the Allied Control Commissions of Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary, in which Moscow has heretofore greatly overweighed her Allies.

4. The decision to treat Germany as a single economic unit and to apply a universal Allied control policy for the whole German people —a decision which Washington strongly presented and which is certain to make for more harmonious Big Three relations in this critical and disturbed area.

5. The establishment of the Council of Foreign Ministers to provide close and continuous consolidation in a rapidly moving world, and the enlargement of the Big Three to a Big Five level by including France and China.

It seems obvious now that the Big Three have demonstrated anew their capacity to work together whatever the change in the personalities who represent their governments. To this accomplishment President Truman has contributed significantly.

It is probable that President Truman will not emerge as one who is called a great President. Rather he will stand as the norm of American democracy. And I suspect that the American people will have shown their own greatness by proving that President Roosevelt's death, while a tragedy, was not a catastrophe. Suddenly the American people found they were going to have to do for themselves what for many years they had counted on Franklin D. Roosevelt to do for them. And at Potsdam, at its first meeting with the other Allied Chiefs of State, President Truman was given—through the unity of the American people in foreign policy—a power of attorney such as no President had previously enjoyed.

President Truman's strength as a world figure is the strength of American democracy.

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Full Employment and Reconstruction in Danger

The fear we have often voiced in these pages, namely, that the Allied nations while ready from a political point of view for world organization were not ready economically, is unfortunately fully justified by events.

On presidential order $3,500,000,000 worth of lend-lease material already overseas or contracted for has been cancelled, and foreign governments will have to negotiate their purchase or go without them. Of course, such an expenditure in money is impossible without long-range credits. What probably will happen is that part of it will be bought by governments and part by private concerns which will resell it at great profit.

However, the problem is more important than the one of cancellation of lend-lease. The brutal fact illustrated by this cancellation is that all the national economies continue as separate entities and therefore some nations are exposed to unemployment and hunger because of war destruction, and lack of raw materials and machinery, while others are exposed because of lack of markets.

The development of international trade and mutual economic agreements within the framework of the Social and Economic Council foreseen by the San Francisco Charter is the most urgent task of statesmen of the United Nations. The United States, no more than Russia, or any other country, will not be able to solve the economic problems in an isolated sphere while hoping to maintain a political world organization.

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JAPAN

and the End of the World

by

HERBERT COREY

WHEN Japan's leaders offered to surrender they might well have saved face by saying:

"This is not the end of Japan.

"But it is the end of the world."

Alarmed opinion in some of Washington's higher places is that what has happened may very well be just exactly that. The atomic bomb may have shattered armies and navies, bases and fortifications along with Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Of what good is a $75,000,000 battleship if one bomb, dropped anywhere near it from a plane flying 500 miles an hour at an invisible altitude, can toss it into the air like a peanut? The one-battle next war might be run on a commuter's timetable:

Lv. New York	8:30 a.m.
Lv. Berlin	11:30 a.m.
Ar. New York	2:30 p.m.

The operators of such a one-battle war might shower and shave and have their leisurely ham and eggs in the morning, destroy an empire during the forenoon, and return in time for a pleasant lunch. If all that the scientists say and believe of the atomic bomb is true this might be a commonplace tomorrow. They think it possible that even more horrifying developments may follow. If my information is correct this is a mild statement. They have put their feet upon the road and they must follow it. They believe there is no stopping, just as there is no turning back. Make no mistake about it:

They are desperately frightened.

They have loosed the genii from the bottle and they cannot put him back.

Their gloominess has to some extent colored the attitude of official Washington. Three days before that bomb was dropped on Nagasaki all Washington was working at top speed for the defeat of Japan. Not much was being said of Germany. The Nazis had been thoroughly whipped, they would get the hard peace instead of the peace with cakes and kisses many of them hoped for. They would make us trouble and cost us money, but at least for the time they were not to be worried about. There was a real fury against the Japanese. Skinny Wainwright is pretty well known in Washington. Maimed and starved men were being brought in to Walter Reed Hospital almost every day. The civilians who had been prisoners of war in Japan told their stories. The newspapers carried long Rolls of Honor of the area soldiers who had died fighting the yellow men.

Yet so far as I know there was no demonstration whatever on the day it was announced that Japan had asked for peace. Even the night club proprietors did not offer rattles and paper caps. The people were thinking and talking of the new weapon. Those who had friends or relatives in the Pacific expressed their personal happiness in a subdued fashion, for the most part. When the newsmen and photographers—two of the photographers were very good-looking young girls—crowded into the office of Michael MacDermott, press chief of the State Department, to record the reduction of Hirohito to puppet status, they pushed and hurried, of course. That is a part of the routine. But during the waiting period they talked of the bomb. The winning of a second major war, the reduction of an empire to shreds and cinders, the enormous changes in our lives these things presage, were for the time at least pushed aside. Dimly, no doubt, and slowly, Washington was beginning to understand that, as the Japanese war lords might have said, the old world had ended.

In the higher military circles there was much discussion of the changes in the business of war the new bomb has made inevitable.

The immediate problem, of course, was what to do with Japan. Not much remains of her navy. The assumption is that the warships will be sunk or destroyed. Her planes will be destroyed and her manufactures of military goods

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will be dismantled. Her army will be demobilized and disarmed and her artillery reduced to scrap. Before this program can be completely carried out it is probable that there may be a good deal of isolated but bitter guerrilla fighting on the innumerable islands held by Japanese troops. Even little pin dots were sometimes found to be held by garrisons of from ten to a hundred men, who usually fight to the last man, except when they run away to jungle hideouts. The scraping out of these scattered bands may take months. The policy is to get rid of all Japanese soldiers who have been quartered on the pirated islands. They have a way of going into business and marrying and becoming permanent residents wherever possible, and unless they are sent home the next generation of islanders might be dangerous to Pacific peace. This will be MacArthur's job. Admiral Nimitz and his fleets will be engaged in dominating the four home islands of Japan. There is a danger of guerrilla fighting on these islands, but it is believed this can be controlled by Hirohito.

IF the advice of the armed services is taken by the statesmen of the three powers, Hirohito will be given business treatment. He will be permitted to remain in his palace, he will be furnished with a sufficient staff, and will be treated with complete respect. His pretensions to godship will be ignored and he will be required to be obedient and helpful. There is no doubt that he can control his people, and there is the further certainty that the fire-breathing chiefs who forced this trouble on Japan will be kept away from him. If he should prove to be a fire-breather himself, full of the old Samurai tradition, and should kill himself for any one of the many reasons that are convincing to the Japanese mind and cannot be comprehended at all by the rest of us—then the oil might be on the fire.

And he might do just that.

Until it is established that the Japanese people are willing to accept the peace terms in good faith, a considerable army will necessarily be maintained on the four home islands. It is believed in the higher circles that if they are let alone by their lords the people will give no trouble. The war lords will be imprisoned, those guilty of war crimes will be punished, and so far as outsiders can accomplish it they will be deprived of power and position. This will be an excessively hard job, for the Army and Navy have very few competent interpreters and have a natural distaste for volunteers from the enemy. The services of the Nisei will be used to a great extent. If the people prove to be tractable, and it is believed they will be if every attempt at agitation is severely repressed, the Nisei should be invaluable. No one blinks at the fact that if the people get out of hand the Nisei will have a difficult and dangerous task.

Many Chinese will be used in these liaison positions, if—and stress is placed on the if—they prove to be reliable. There is not in some circles a disposition to accept the Chinese at their own face value. Army opinion might be summarized, perhaps correctly, as accepting the Chinese soldier as a good fighting man when armed and fed and well led. But Chinese politics and ethics are mysteries to most occidentals. As General Stilwell has a more intimate understanding of the Chinese mind than any other American officer he will almost certainly be used in some high liaison position.

At the time Stilwell was withdrawn from his former command it was much to our interest to keep China in the fight. Now that the war in the East has been won, and China is a fourth power instead of a somewhat unsteady combatant, the situation would seem to have changed. It is thought, too, that President Truman will show a firm hand. He has manifested a disposition to look at world affairs from an American point of view—just as Stalin works for Russia and Churchill used to get all he could for Britain—and to be practical in all things. Informed opinion hereabouts is that whatever money or supplies is sent to the East in the future will be in return for something definite. If that proves to be the fact our difficulties in the East may be lessened.

THE matters cited are our immediate objectives.

At this point the atomic bomb returns for consideration.

Long ago we had determined to maintain strong bases in the Pacific. Not much was said of this, for we were engaged in winning the war. When Japan fired on us at Pearl Harbor she automatically closed a long period of cloudy thinking and made it clear to all that in the future we must have sufficient defenses in the East. The early plan was to make Hawaii impregnable as a permanent base and hold Okinawa and Iwo and other islands as springboards for attacks upon Japan if the need arose. It was a sound and workmanlike plan and will be carried out in great measure.

But it was based on a war plan that may have been outmoded by the atomic bombs.

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The day Japan asked for terms the Navy cancelled contracts for the construction of ninety-five ships of war.

It was evident that they would not be needed in the present war.

More than a billion dollars could be saved.

No one knows whether such ships will ever be needed in war again. This is not to be taken as a definite prophecy that such ships will never be needed again. No one today knows.

The scientists have not yet been able to examine the ruins of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. But if the bombs were as successful as is believed, then no army or navy could stand against this horrific power. A bomb the size of a baseball could wipe out a division, at least in theory. One of the 500-miles-an-hour planes which are relatively common today could carry a bomb load across the Atlantic that would demolish London. A larger plane, with tanks of gasoline, could ply through the stratosphere unheard, rip New York to bits and get home again safely. So far as the scientists know and the military men have been informed, such things are completely possible even at today's stage of development. If, later on, the atom is put to work driving engines, a plane might fly around the world, dropping its deadly missiles on every principal city in the world, and only come home when its stores of food and water were exhausted.

This sounds like nonsense, of course. It is not a possibility of today. But it *might* be a possibility of tomorrow.

The question has therefore been asked:

Why build bases in which to shelter battleships and cruisers and transports? A small, hidden shelter for an atomic plane would be sufficient. Such planes could retaliate so immediately and so furiously that no country would dare strike first. Huge armies become ridiculously useless and wasteful if these arguments of the scientists are well founded. No shelter can be found for the helpless civilian, for a large enough atomic bomb could uproot every one of New York's skyscrapers and choke every cellar and subway. Every scientist will say, and most of them have said, that it is not possible for the United States and Great Britain and Canada, the present holders of the atomic secret, to preserve that secret indefinitely. We were only a few months ahead of Germany with it. Except for the fact that our combined armies smashed through Germany and destroyed the laboratories and caught some of the scientists, she might have beaten us to it. The Japanese scientists have been working on it, and they are not to be despised. So much is known of it now that in a year or so after peace comes the world will presumably know all about it.

These things are not to be taken as mere sensationalism, unless the scientists of three great countries and the American Navy and the bombed out Japanese are united in a conspiracy to fool us. They are the realities of today and tomorrow. We can only hope, along with "Bob" Woolley, once a star of the *New York World,* an intimate of Joseph Pulitzer, an associate of Woodrow Wilson:

"If man has been smart enough to devise such a hellish thing, surely he's smart enough to handle it."

Here's looking at you, Mr. Woolley. Damn it, you've got to be right.

Growing Difficulties in Latin America

While Latin America rejoices with the rest of the Allied world on V-J Day, there are, nevertheless, deep signs of anxiety to be observed all the way from Rio de Janeiro to Mexico City. The Latin American people are realizing that all war orders will be cancelled at once and their only remaining hope is to sell foodstuffs and raw materials to Europe. But the European countries, disposing of a very limited amount of foreign exchange, require above all long-term credits, and that is precisely what the Latin American countries themselves have badly needed for a long time.

The political situation is not much better than the economic situation. The fascist clique in Argentina and some of the Latin American dictators are as cocky and authoritarian as ever. Deriving comfort from Franco's continuation in power, they shrug their shoulders at popular demands to re-establish democratic regimes and to adopt the long-needed social reforms.

A congress of representatives of democratic organizations from all Latin American countries will gather soon in the capital of one of the democratic countries and nominate a delegation which will visit the various United Nations capitals and try to obtain at least moral support for the cause of democracy in Latin America.

Our correspondents in South America insist that the overwhelming majority of the Latin American peoples are in favor of immediate democratic reforms. Should the United Nations fail to support the democratic forces there is real danger that fascism might spread throughout Latin America.

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X equals The Future

by LAURA VITRAY

What will happen now that man has found the key to the universal power house?

IN 1934, while on the staff of a newspaper in the Nation's Capital, this writer had a "hot tip" concerning a mysterious and world-shaking discovery that had been made at the Bethesda Laboratory of the Carnegie Institute. The Laboratory is little known to the general public, but its research projects are often closely coordinated with the requirements of the War Department. During World War II, for instance, its chemists developed simple equipment for life boats by means of which sea water could be converted to drinking water.

Even at that remote prewar epoch I had heard that the Carnegie physicists were experimenting with the atom-smashing apparatus called a cyclotron, with which it was possible to shoot at the atoms of certain substances and chip off a fraction of atomic energy. But this was no mere chipping they had in mind, it was whispered to me. They had found the key that could really unlock the atomic Pandora's box and unleash its cosmic forces.

I took a taxi and went out there. Dr. Merle A. Tuve, now with Johns Hopkins, then Carnegie's chief physicist, consented to talk with me. But not for publication. He shook his head. Off the record, he admitted the rumor was true, but insisted only harm could result from spreading it. He went further than that, to say that he regretted his own part in this momentous discovery, and would like to forget it. Why? Simply because he felt that humanity was not ready for it. Men were neither good enough nor wise enough, he thought, to employ the limitless power that soon would be within their grasp.

Looking back now I realize that the findings Dr. Tuve then regarded as too momentous to reveal were very incomplete, bringing the physicists only to the threshold of the vast discoveries they were destined to make in the next few years. The story he told me was of the long struggle to direct a missile at the atom that would hit the bull's eye, the atom's nucleus, and actually explode it, not just chip off some of its electrical energy. The atom, which is the building block of our material universe, might be said to be a package of positive and negative electrical forces, so carefully balanced and locked together that they are held as if "asleep." Yet within lies something that might be likened to a solar system, with swift and erratic electron satellites leaping about the central "sun."

The early experiments of the scientists who had sought to shoot their way into this invisibly small but electrically forbidding atomic world had not met with too much success. The trouble seemed to lie with the available ammunition. The physicists had tried using the electrons contained in the beta rays of radio-active substances, but often these were merely sucked into the system, and held there by the nucleus. Far from exploding the nucleus, they became its satellites.

By 1932 a more satisfactory missile had been found in the neutron, an atomic particle that was neutral electrically and therefore stood an infinitely greater chance of hitting the nucleus of the atom against which it was hurled. I think at the time of my talk with Dr. Tuve, no actual bull's-eye had been scored, certainly not on an atom like that of uranium, which represents the largest package of atomic energy we know, its "central sun" being 238 times more powerful than that of hydrogen. It was not until 1939 that the uranium nucleus was split in two, and that happened too, I believe, at Carnegie. But the victory was in sight in 1934. Like a general who has watched a battle from the

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start, and who knows that the weapons and ammunition are now of the caliber that can lick the enemy, Dr. Tuve saw clearly what was in store.

"Tell me," I asked him, "how much energy can be released by this atom smashing? Is it so much greater than anything we know?"

"Yes," he said, "it may eventually be possible with a single explosion to wipe out a whole city, even a nation, perhaps to destroy our planet. You see why I say this is not knowledge the world can handle now. The moral progress of man has not kept pace with his scientific advances."

As a matter of fact, I reflected, scientific advances are not made by the whole of humanity, operating in unison – but by small isolated groups of trained specialists. We don't need to know how to make automobiles and telephones and electric lights and a myriad of other things whose use we enjoy. Moral progress is a different matter. It must either be universally shared or it is forever subject to breakdown. As a reporter I had seen how millions of law-abiding citizens could be preyed upon by gangsters and racketeers. It was possible to imagine what an international criminal, or group of criminals, possessed of the secret of atom smashing, might be able to do.

I was inclined to agree with Dr. Tuve that the full mystery of the atom and of the terrific forces it might unleash, had best remain with the scientists. I wrote only a short item, on the constructive side, from data he furnished. Someday, with our knowledge of atomic energy, we would build the fuel into an automobile for the life of the car; someday, by releasing the atomic energy in a large-sized lump of coal, we would create enough heat in winter or coolness in summer to air-condition a house for a hundred years.

That was my only plunge into the atom mystery. By the end of the thirties we were thinking about things other than science: the danger of war in Europe, then the war itself. In swift succession events shot past us—bombs dropped on Warsaw by the nazis, the invasion of France, Dunkerque, the attack on Russia, the attack on Pearl Harbor—the whole world at war. Who thinks about the explosion of an atom when the world we know is exploding before our eyes?

I was in Detroit in 1943-44. It was a city of machines . . . but a city geared to the greatest machine of all: the American war machine. My work took me to many war plants, showed me many new wonders. Here, for instance, was a shop a mile long. At the start of it young girls sitting high in the rafters in overhead cranes, dropped down to the workers below pieces of metal that had been stamped out of great presses. The workers were literally picking up the pieces to put together a Liberator bomber; and as you moved on down the mile it took shape before your eyes. Here it was riveted, here set on wheels almost as high as yourself, here the motors came to meet it from sub-assembly lines, here the tremendous wing sections went on. Ten thousand electrical installations in the fuselage. A midget who climbed into the wing tips to make the connections for the lights. A wall that dropped on either side of the great plane, enclosing it while it was sprayed almost instantaneously with paint.

In plants like these there was a meeting taking place—the meeting of great scientific and of great production minds. Of men who knew how to think things through abstractly and men who knew how to take abstract knowledge and turn it into concrete things.

In such a plant I was taken one day behind a great locked partition and allowed to gaze at a fuselage so big it dwarfed the Liberator. "What is it?" I asked. The production man smiled. "You won't hear about this for many months," he said. "It's the plane with which we intend to blast Japan out of this war. It's the B-29. This fuselage is just our pattern. We're tearing up our assembly lines now, getting ready to copy it." In effect there had been a heavy lay-off at that plant, and the assembly line was a shambles.

We didn't write about the B-29 in those days —nor even talk about it much, and then only with a certain awe. It was being tried out secretly over Germany, we heard, to get a report on performance, get the "bugs" out, perfect the details of design. Every change meant a problem for the production men, changes on the assembly line. We couldn't help thinking of the dreadful day when this monster would darken the skies of Japan.

One day early in 1944 I attended a meeting at which production men, government executives, labor leaders made fine speeches about the unity necessary for victory. You can't win a war by pulling apart, but only by pulling together, was the gist of what they said. There seemed to be, that night, a large amount of cooperation in the American war machine. You felt it would get results, too.

On the platform that evening I saw a big production man and a high government official

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put their heads together, whisper like a couple of boys, and then grin very broadly. A labor man was delivering his talk at the time and I couldn't help wondering what had struck them so funny. The next day, in conversation with an engineer, I happened to recall the incident.

"I heard something about that," he said. "The joke wasn't on labor. It was on the Japs. It seems the production man asked the Government official if he had been alluding to 'X' in something he'd said in his speech. The official agreed he had."

"Why – what is 'X'?" I asked.

The engineer hesitated. "I shouldn't mention it and neither should they. But – well, briefly, 'X' is the greatest secret weapon of them all."

"Do you know what it is?"

"No–I haven't the remotest idea. Of course, from little things I've heard I've pieced together a theory all my own."

"Which is?"

"Well–I guess I can tell you what I **think** it is. Let's say, I figure it's a sort of man-made lightning. You see, where lightning hits, it sears and kills anything living. But lightning has another effect. When it passes through the atmosphere it creates a momentary vacuum. You know that, because you hear the noise of the thunder as the air rushes back in to fill the void. But–nothing can live in vacuum, even for an instant."

"So you think . . . ?"

"I think when we land on those Jap islands we will send a little 'X' lightning in ahead of us. Those it hits will be seared to death. Those who are in shelters far under the ground will simply be stone dead, their lungs caved in from that instant they lacked air."

I looked at my informant incredulously. "Are you sure there is any such thing as 'X'?" I said.

"No, not as I've described it. And I think I shouldn't have talked, even to a good American like you."

We never mentioned it again. No one else ever mentioned 'X' to me. When, from another source, in another city, I happened to hear the story of thirty top-ranking engineers, who were locked for six weeks in a hotel suite, until they had produced the production blueprints for a super-super secret weapon, I only vaguely wondered if it was 'X' they were preparing for factory production.

Months passed. A year flew by. After Iwo Jima and Okinawa, I said to myself, "Well, it seems there was no such thing as 'X'! Certainly, if we had any such lightning, we would be tossing it ahead of us into places like that!" Yet in a sense I felt relieved.

Say I was stupid. Never once did I connect that story of secret lightning with atom smashing.

But there was a connection. After all, when you smash through the nucleus of the uranium atom you are releasing the electrical forces that were held in check and balance there. You are creating lightning; unleashing a whirlwind of lightning that can strike and sear. And though I have read nothing to that effect, I think as it flashes to earth from an atom bomb, it must tear the atmosphere asunder, producing for an instant that vacuum in which no living thing can endure, even momentarily.

American-made lightning has struck the soil of Japan. And 'X' equaled sudden death for hundreds of thousands of Japanese. No wonder those left alive came quickly to their knees before this awful terror from the skies. This terror about which I heard from the sober lips of a scientist in 1934. This secret that brought smiles to the lips of an industrial executive and a government official. This secret weapon vaguely described to me in the practical language of an engineer.

So there you have it–and America has scored another great advance, based on the marriage of scientific minds and production "know how," plus the valor of young men who carry the stuff into the skies. Teamwork has won the victory.

But wait. We have to live in this world. What will happen now, if the teamwork falls apart, ever so little, and the atom bomb remains?

What will happen if far-off persons not on our team–persons who conceive a new grudge against us, develop an atom bomb of their own? If international criminals use it for their purposes?

We must prevent that. We must raise up a better human race. We must establish law and equity among nations, and opportunity for all the peoples of earth.

Because a few scientists and a few production specialists have produced this weapon, which most of us only vaguely understand, we all are going to have to improve ourselves. We've got to be better people now–more generous, more fair, more willing to cooperate with persons of whatever race or color or creed.

We must kill hatred, and foster love, and make this a better planet. Tuve was right. We're not good enough for knowledge such as this. And there is not a minute to lose.

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HOW LONG HIROHITO?

Two opposite views

There is wide variance of opinion today as to whether the Allies made a mistake in retaining Hirohito even temporarily on the Japanese throne. The insolent character of his rescript and of the official broadcasts over Radio Tokyo have not helped to dissipate the feeling of uneasiness. All this reminds one too much of Germany after the last war. Yet the argument of those whose judgment prevailed in retaining the Emperor is that without him we would have been faced with widespread disorders in Japan, and perhaps with the necessity of heavy sacrifice of life in the conquest of Japanese outposts. The two articles which follow represent the two sides of the question. Of course the editors of FREE WORLD believe that now that the thing is done, everything depends on what happens after our entry into Japan.

No more Mikados!

by

WILLARD PRICE

HIROHITO must be deposed, even tried as a war criminal, once the military occupation of Japan is complete. Such is the point of view urged by many in both America and Britain. There is a precedent for such action in the manner of dealing with Germany's Admiral Doenitz.

For those who believe that Hirohito's war guilt makes postwar authority on his part impossible, the next question is:

What of the dynasty? "Unbroken for ages eternal," shall it be allowed to continue with the accession of Hirohito's son, Akihito, to the throne?

The boy is not yet in his teens—he was born December 23, 1933. He cannot be judged guilty of war crimes. Under liberal-minded regents, might he not become an enlightened constitutional monarch?

And would not his accession quiet the people and furnish the same control over them that could have been exercised through his puppet father?

It is an inviting solution but it will not do. If we cannot use Hirohito we cannot use his son. The effective "use" of either depends upon the people's notion of his heavenly prerogative, and we cannot lend ourselves to the continuance of a legend that has enslaved the people and given the pressure groups an instrument for world conquest.

The fact that Akihito might be enlightened has nothing to do with it. Twice in modern times Japan has had an enlightened sovereign but nothing came of it.

Meiji, who reigned from 1868 to 1912, began his career with the determination to inaugurate a constitutional monarchy similar to that of England. The ruling clique dominated by the Satsuma and Choshu clans stopped that. Hirohito in "the liberal 20's" seemed to be approaching constitutional monarchy but not so closely as his grandfather had; he was checked and turned backward into the darkest reaction Japan has known since it came out of seclusion.

It is not enough to have an enlightened monarch; you must also have an enlightened and liberated people. Constitutional monarchy depends upon the people, not upon the sovereign. The Japanese people have plainly

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shown themselves not yet ready for this move.

There could be no objection to a genuine constitutional monarchy in Japan. But it must be remembered that conditions in Japan are entirely different from those which brought a constitutional monarchy into existence in England.

Individual enterprise has marked the growth of England. A man started business on a shoestring and worked his way up. All he asked of the government was that it let him alone.

In Japan it has been quite another story. Before the Restoration the land was divided among a number of feudal lords. When these lords decided to get together and organize a new government, they made a deal among themselves. They surrendered their territories to the state, but paid themselves off in government bonds. Formerly rich in land, they were now rich in liquid funds, and with these they started industrial enterprises.

Instead of resenting the government, they found it their best tool. And to keep the common people in their proper place of quiet subservience, the God-Emperor notion was most effective.

THAT setup remains. A few big families still dominate the industrial life of Japan, and it is to their interest to keep the government out of the hands of the people.

Therefore, until this condition in which the state controls industry, or we should say in which a few industrialists control the state, is ended, the economic monopolies of the few families broken, and industry turned over to the people, there will be no possibility of a people's monarchy in Japan.

We are advised by some to "leave Japan alone" after the war. Let her work out her own problems.

The trouble is that Japan, if by that we mean the 75,000,000 Japanese people, would have no opportunity to work out her problems. The power groups would stoutly maintain the status quo. The sanctity of the throne would be jealously preserved. Education would continue to be chauvinistic. The coming generation would be poisoned as the present one has been. Information from the outside world "subversive" to the vested interests would be stopped at the ports. The industrialist - militarist - Emperor combination would be kept in working order, ready to swing again into action when the world has begun to think about something else.

Like it or not, if we want a new Japan, we must help it come into being. We must at least free it of the old tyrannies.

Japan, already far advanced, may catch step with the rest of the world in from two to four decades—but only with the most unremitting and understanding help.

NOW, back to the Emperor. During this occupation period of twenty years or whatever it may need to be, what will be the imperial status?

I wonder if the advocates of the retention of Hirohito or the immediate accession of Akihito take account of the situation as it will probably exist in occupied Japan. There will presumably be at first no central Japanese government, just as there is no central German government.

How could the Mikado fit into this system? Certainly we could not acknowledge the Emperor as superior to the Allied Commission. Nor could the Japanese people conceive of him as subordinate to the barbarian government. As he has been forced into such a role, he may shortly commit suicide, or if he lacks the nerve, may be given the "happy dispatch" by his associates. And to recognize the Emperor and the Commission as of equal rank will be impossible from both the Allied and Japanese standpoints.

There is no place for the Emperor above, along with, or below the government of occupation.

Let the Allies then depose Hirohito and take no action in regard to a successor. Let there be an interregnum. That would be nothing new. There have been several interregna in Japanese history when no Emperor occupied the throne, because the various factions could not agree upon an incumbent. Let it be understood that the question of resuming the monarchy will be left to the Japanese to settle after the occupation.

Why allow the Japanese this loophole? Because we cannot help ourselves. We can control the situation while we are in Japan. But we cannot keep Japan in leading strings forever, and after we leave she will be free to restore the monarchy if she chooses. It will be better for her and the world if she does not. But since we cannot govern that choice we may as well acknowledge the fact, particularly since that acknowledgment will partially satisfy Emperor-devotees by giving them some hopes, even if long deferred.

We can readily guess what the immediate reaction will be on the part of the Japanese

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people. They will determine that promptly after the end of the occupation they will restore the dynasty.

But, gradually, they may change their minds. As the years of occupation tick by, as information freely floods in from the modern world, as the imperial hocus-pocus is omitted from schoolbooks and slowly forgotten, as Japanese visit the West and Westerners visit Japan, as the entrenched interests which profit by the Emperor system are broken up and replaced by popular power, Emperor fanaticism will most certainly diminish and possibly die out.

DURING Allied control it is assumed that self-government will be encouraged first in the villages, the towns, the prefectures and finally in the top levels of government. Thus the stage will be set some decades from now, either for a republic, or for a monarchy with democratic safeguards and shorn of the mantle of divinity.

Neither should be sanctioned, nor occupation discontinued, until the Japanese people are firmly in control of their government through free elections and a parliament with power.

Of the two alternatives, republicanism or constitutional monarchy, even after two to four decades of renovation the Japanese will do well to prefer the former. They have suffered so many self-inflicted wounds from the sharp edge of imperial fiat and have brought so much grief to their neighbors, that they will be wise to lay aside forever so dangerous a tool. If they get the proper re-education and training in self-government during the interim period, they may be ready to do so.

The interregnum will give them time to think about it.

We can use Hirohito!

by

JOHN GOETTE

THERE is a simple solution for punishing the war guilty of Japan. Pressure groups are debating this issue. But why not settle it by precedent?

Turn to a historic protocol signed at Peking on September 8th, 1901, by the plenipotentiaries of the United States, Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany, Holland and by Marquis Komura, minister of the Japanese Meiji Emperor. There was no soft peace nor appeasement of China for the outrages of her Boxer hordes in this document which penalized the Chinese Empire for the anti-foreign uprising of the previous year.

Japan was an active signatory to this protocol which calmly exacted more than the ounce of flesh from the Chinese and their frightened, but still proud Empress Dowager.

Placing the defeat and military occupation of Japan parallel with what the then-Allies did to the court of the Empress Dowager in 1901, this is what would happen when we land in Japan:

First, our armed forces would have subdued all Japanese resistance and our garrisons would be stationed in strategic points all over the Japanese Islands. This would include, as at Peking in 1901, physical occupation of the Imperial Palace at Tokyo. Emperor Hirohito and his court might or might not have fled as did the doughty Empress Dowager of China. It is to be presumed that he would have been hustled away to a place of safety as was the Empress Dowager. However, she was fortunate in having a distant inland city of refuge, Sianfu, such as would not now be available. Wherever the Emperor might go, at least we would have him in protective custody or be in full control over him.

Next, according to the early pattern of Peking, United Nations diplomats would be in no rush to assume power from the military chiefs of

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our army of occupation. Chinese armed resistance to our troops ended in the late summer of 1900, but it was not until a year later, September 1901, that the peace treaty was signed.

IN that period, the Allies were deliberate in deciding which Princes of the Blood, cabinet ministers, provincial governors, and lesser officials were to pay personally for the deaths of Americans, Europeans, and Japanese at the hands of the Boxers.

Imperial relatives of the Empress Dowager who had influenced her to listen to the boasts of the fanatical Boxer leaders that they could rid China of all foreigners, were marked out along with other officials who directly gave the orders which resulted in wholesale slaughter of Americans and other victims. Even before the list of guilty was complete, retribution was set in motion.

The Empress Dowager was advised that heads must fall among her officials for what had been done to the foreigners. From her refuge in Sianfu, out of reach of physical Allied military intervention, China's ruler issued a series of Imperial Decrees. Eleven high ranking statesmen were named for drastic punishment.

Prince Chuang was advised by the Throne that "we invite you as a favor to commit suicide." Others were included in this award of the "silken cord," and they docilely carried out this punishment on themselves. Several noblemen were sentenced to death without trial. Among them were Princes of the Blood, but as relatives of the Empress they were permitted to accept life exile in Turkestan without benefit of reprieve at any future time.

For those less highly connected and involved in a more dastardly manner in the massacre of foreigners, the death sentence of beheading was pronounced. When these punishments had been carried out, the Allies sat down at the peace table with the envoys of the exiled Empress Dowager and signed the Protocol. Into that document they incorporated their approval and acknowledgment of the fact that the guilty had already paid the penalty.

THERE we have a basic historical precedent for disposing of the Japanese leaders of this war whose responsibility for atrocities might easily be established in a leisurely fashion while our army of occupation prepares the ground for the eventual but unhurried peace conference with whatever Japanese group we care to select.

The illustrious grandfather of Hirohito was party to this action in China. His grandson could not possibly demur on the grounds that his ancestor made a mistake. Such an attitude would be unfilial and unworthy of the Son of Heaven.

Furthermore, if the Japanese Emperor himself orders the death of his subordinates, including members of his own family, one of whom was a staff officer at Nanking, the United Nations avoid the danger of turning the dead culprits into martyrs in the eyes of the Japanese nation. The latter could not be critical of anything that the Son of Heaven decrees. This is an important point if we mean to set the minds and behavior of the Japanese people on the road of lasting peace.

For those officials whose acts did not directly lead to inhuman deeds against the United Nations, Hirohito could award the Japanese equivalent of the "silken cord," or the ceremonial dagger of hara-kiri. Such fine points do have their place in Oriental tradition. But what matters it to us so long as such men pay with their lives for what they did?

The decrees of the Empress Dowager as incorporated in the Boxer Protocol went at length into the various crimes of her officials. Again with Oriental circumlocution, it was stressed that the guilty had purposely misled her into condoning the slaying of Americans, Europeans, and Japanese.

Of course, this precedent of Peking can be criticized for overlooking the mooted guilt of the Japanese Emperor. Actually there is little difference between his responsibility now and that of the Empress Dowager in 1900. Again, as matters stand, China and America at least, are on record as favoring the policy of the Japanese people choosing their own form of government. Whatever we eventually do about Hirohito, it would be wisest to let him issue the Imperial Rescripts for the death of his own war guilty.

Thereupon, it is conceivable that he could descend the throne in favor of another member of his clan, or even alter the Japanese government to a republic by his own hand and seal. This would at once put the regimented and law-accepting Japanese people behind the new government from the outset, thereby easing the task of the victorious United Nations.

For those who cry for harsher measures against Japan, there is another precedent in western relations with China during the last century. In 1860 an Anglo-French military

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force was landed in North China to redress grievances against China. After routing the defending troops, the British and the French proceeded to the Summer Palace outside of Peking and laid it waste. Millions of dollars worth of priceless art objects were looted or smashed, while the beautiful palace buildings were burned to the ground.

This action was taken on the theory that the Emperor was to blame for the crimes against the Allies. Not wishing to punish the innocent Chinese people, it was deemed a telling stroke to ruin the Emperor's playground.

THE pattern of using the Japanese Emperor to decree the punishment of his own war guilty has many psychological advantages. If under the nudging of our army of occupation, Hirohito issues an Imperial Rescript condemning his military, naval, and civilian ministers for falsely taking him and his nation into war against us, then we cut adrift those war guilty from possible martyrdom.

This presumption is supported by a dispatch which Ambassador Grew sent to the State Department on October 25, 1941. Mr. Grew relayed the description of a meeting between Hirohito, leading members of his Privy Council and of the armed forces as given to him by a "reliable Japanese informant."

The Emperor inquired whether his ministers were prepared to pursue a policy which would guarantee that there would be no war with the United States. The generals and admirals present did not reply to the Emperor's question. Thereupon he made reference to the progressive policy of his grandfather, the Emperor Meiji, and breaking precedent, he is alleged to have flatly told the armed forces to obey his wishes for peace.

Ambassador Grew put credence in this alleged outspokenness of the Emperor. Consequently this single session could be used by us in securing an Imperial Rescript belatedly punishing the guilty ones who refused to obey their sovereign.

The same procedure could be applied to minor military and civilian officers whom we will single out for their direct persecution of individuals of the United Nations and for their ravishing of China and other occupied areas. This may be construed an Oriental device, but after all we are fighting an Oriental war. It worked successfully in China in 1900, and it should work again in Japan.

We might take specific instances of how this punishment of the war guilty would work with ease and dispatch. There is General Iwane Matsui. He captured Nanking, China's capital, in December 1937. He ordered, or at least permitted, his troops to engage in an orgy of pillage, burning, and rape such as the modern world had not seen.

General Matsui subsequently retired to Japan and built a temple over which he presides as priest. We should see that the Emperor sends this general the ceremonial dagger of hara-kiri. We will not be bothered with documents, evidence, trial, or legal subterfuge. Matsui will die. Likewise General Matsui's crime involves a Prince of the Blood who was on his staff at Nanking. As for that Imperial Prince, he could be asked to end his own life.

Then there is the notorious General Kenji Doihara who maneuvered the creation of Manchukuo and its puppet Emperor from the seized Chinese provinces of Manchuria. He did not stop there with his plottings. They continued until all of North China was swallowed by the invader. He sits on the General Staff in Tokyo today, and the Chinese will cheer when an Imperial Rescript brings him retribution, whether by hara-kiri or by a samurai sword skilfully wielded by one so appointed by his own Emperor.

If we ignore this easy means of bringing the war guilty to their proper ends, we will be faced with conducting our own trials. Certainly the results of such trials in Germany after the last war will be repeated if we try such methods in Japan. We will be blocked at every turn by the Japanese if we attempt vengeance on our own, for we will be creating martyrs by the hundreds. On the other hand, if the vengeance comes under orders from the Son of Heaven, few, if any Japanese, will think of disobeying the Imperial Rescripts, not even the condemned themselves.

Our army of occupation will wait, rifles in hand, until we are satisfied that the Emperor has cleaned out the guilty.

When all of this has been done, and it can be accomplished much more swiftly than by the cumbersome system of war guilt trials, our statesmen can supplant the army of occupation. As in the Protocol of 1901 signed with China, all that has been done, including the texts of the Imperial Rescripts, can be incorporated into the treaty of peace. Such a treaty will record that justice has been met instead of wordily setting forth what we want. It will be a *fait accompli* instead of a threat that we hope to be able to enforce justice.

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A DEPARTMENT OF PEACE

FOR THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

BY HONORABLE ALEXANDER WILEY
UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM WISCONSIN

Even in time of peace no one doubts the necessity of a War Department, to prepare us for war if it should come, to fight a war if necessary. But now a new factor has entered the plain man's thinking. He wants to know why, if billions must go for war, millions should not go for war prevention, for avoiding conflicts by creating conditions and international relationships that make for world harmony.

FROM the Golden Gate of San Francisco has come an epochal, 10,000-word document, beginning with the words:

"We, the peoples of the United Nations."

To this document of 19 "Chapters," and 111 "Articles," there were affixed on June 26, 1945 the signatures of the representatives of 50 nations.

It is my own humble but earnest opinion that this United Nations Charter is a far better mechanism for handling international difficulties than it is generally conceded to be. It is the result of nine weeks of diligent labor by the conferees and of immeasurable prior preparation by the leading diplomats of the world.

It represents vast progress over the League of Nations Covenant. It contains entirely new instrumentalities for the achievement of international social and economic progress. It provides adequately for peace enforcement, for a "fire department" that will put all world fires out before they start.

The very fact that half a hundred nations could meet and speedily iron out their differences in a democratic give-and-take is in itself an encouraging omen of a new dawn in world affairs.

A WORD of reasonable caution is, however, in order. It is the consensus that neither this Charter nor any other instrument can, of itself, bring about international harmony, peace and plenty.

No treaty, covenant or other mechanism, however perfect, even if it had the Sermon on the Mount and the Ten Commandments written into it, can actually achieve high objectives, unless there is back of the spoken and written pledge the active and continuing will, intent and purpose of the contracting parties to live up to their obligations.

We are grateful that the peoples of the earth are now awake to that crucial fact, for they have not always been aware of it.

For a time, after October 7, 1944, when the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals first came out, many individuals repeated the error of emphasis on the instrument alone which was made so disastrously after Versailles in 1919 and many times before that.

A vast emotional wave of over-optimistic thinking engulfed the Proposals and burst out in thousands of letters and telegrams to Congress, in magazine articles and newspaper columns.

IT is understandable why war-weary persons should have become enthused over the agreement reached in Dumbarton Oaks by the United States, the United Kingdom, Russia and China. But many persons swung to an extreme and became mesmerized with the Proposals. It is not exaggerating to say they seemed to think the Proposals were some magic formula which "presto chango" would wipe out the world's historic troubles.

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Time and events sobered these persons' judgment and put their feet back on the ground. It is well that, after the end of the war in Europe, these over-optimistic thinkers came to see realistically the chaotic condition in which the world still finds itself. They came to see the physical devastation, the human suffering, the economic want, the political and social fear, the national bitterness. They came to see the many still unsettled disagreements among the Allies, and how these conditions could be specifically corrected.

THESE miserable world conditions of today are no grounds for defeatism or negativism, but rather for realism and reinforced resolution to improve the conditions. There is no inconsistency between idealism and practicality —if idealism gives inspiration and direction, and if practicality gives a sound appraisal of conditions as they are and a working guide as to how those conditions may be improved.

At this present stage, every thinking person realizes that as Marshal Jan Christiaan Smuts has said: "The San Francisco Conference is only the beginning of a monumental task to rebuild a sad and disillusioned world."

My colleague, Senator Vandenberg, has stated that the United Nations Charter is only an acorn with the potentialities of a great oak. President Truman has spoken of it as one step forward.

If we are to be adequate to the challenges of this period indicated by these three great statesmen, we must cultivate our vision, our faith, and our understanding. We must recognize that this is no time for pygmy thinking. We must raise our sights so that we will see the world of tomorrow as it will be if we succeed and if we fail.

If the United Nations follow the way which the Charter literally and spiritually charts, if those nations succeed in maintaining their unity and in progressing economically, politically, and socially together, our world will be saved.

If we fail, if the Charter becomes one more historic scrap of paper, then war will come again and again to this ever-contracting world of deadlier and deadlier inventions. Our sons and grandsons will continue to shed their lifeblood until the nations learn the lesson of the need for unity.

War is man-made. Peace must be man-made, *made in action,* not merely in promises, and certainly not in lip service. As Horace Mann once said: "I have never heard much of the resolutions of the Apostles, but a great deal about their Acts." We must, therefore, activate the Charter. We must breathe the spirit of life into it.

As one humble, specific contribution to bringing this about, I have introduced in the Senate Bill 1237. This Bill would create in the United States Government a Department of Peace. The Department would be headed by a Secretary of Peace, a man of cabinet rank.

His job would be to specialize and concentrate on the maintenance of world peace, on the elimination of sources of friction and misunderstanding between peoples.

He would be assisted by an Under Secretary of Peace and by a small group of experts. With this staff he would cooperate with every other Cabinet Department – the Department of State, the Treasury Department, the Commerce Department, and so on.

He would also cooperate with every other international peace-making group—private and governmental. For the Secretary of Peace would be ex-officio the American representative on the United Nations Security Council and the Chairman of America's five-man delegation in the General Assembly.

Thus, if Senate Bill 1237 were passed, it would restore Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., to the Cabinet alongside plain-speaking, straight-shooting James F. Byrnes, his successor as Secretary of State. It would serve to round out the Cabinet "family" of our President, Harry S. Truman, who, to our good fortune, is also a plain, frank, business-like individual.

WHAT do I consider would be the advantages of setting up a new Cabinet post for Peace? Here they are as I see them:

1. It would be the most significant possible manner by which we could confer prestige upon the United States representative on the Security Council. It would thereby encourage other nations to send their highest diplomatic representatives to the new world organization.

2. It would signify our recognition of the supreme necessity of preventing war from coming to our own and all other lands.

It would indicate that we recognize that the maintenance of peace through a Cabinet department exclusively devoted to that purpose is as essential as the preparation for war and the prosecution of war through Cabinet Departments, War and Navy, exclusively devoted to those purposes.

It would prove that we realize that the Department of State, with its day-to-day diplomatic chores, cannot be relied upon exclusively for so vast a job as the maintenance of peace.

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3. Most important, our "blazing of the trail" with this Department of Peace would serve to reinforce, in the eyes of the world, America's appropriate position of leadership.

It would reassert to all the world that this time America means business, that she is going all-out in her support of the plan to insure a peaceful world and that she expects the other nations to do the same.

One evening recently, I was thrilled to hear the Chief Justice of Norway and leader of the Norse Home Front Resistance during the war, 72-year-old Paal Berg, say, in response to a toast: ". . . it was the American Declaration of Independence, your Constitution, and your Bill of Rights which contributed much to the strengthening of the liberty-loving concepts of the Norwegian people."

Of course, it is history that the great ideas imbedded in our "American Charter," which consists of the aforementioned documents, encircled the globe. These ideas swept through nations like a beneficial flame, and thrones and dynasties fell. A century afterward, the peoples of earth were the richer in liberty and freedom because our American pioneers, our Founding Fathers, had dared to put into operation, under the Constitution, a new form of Government, a Government of checks and balances.

But after the last World War, a period of retrogression set in, and the ideas which were enunciated in our fundamental law lost ground. A new set of ideas, those of nazism, which actually consisted of the modernization of age-old concepts of slavery, took control of men's minds. Even in our own land, nazi economics, nazi politics, the nazi social credo, had many and high exponents. The American flame was dying out.

Then the war came upon us, and we rediscovered ourselves, and today we find the old flame burning brighter than ever. The nations of earth are turning to us for our share of leadership.

NOW, I ask this question: "Will this new United Nations Charter be to the nations of the earth what our Declaration of Independence and our Constitution were 150 and more years ago?"

The answer to that is: "Yes, if the peoples of earth will to make the Charter so and express that will by vitalizing that document."

It is our hope and prayer that the United Nations organization will become another lighthouse on the shore of time. Then, perhaps, fifty years from now, another Gladstone will arise and, speaking of the Charter, as that great Prime Minister spoke in 1887 of our Constitution, will call it: "The most remarkable work known to me in modern times to have been produced by the human intellect."

The Secretariat of the United Nations

The Interim Commission of the United Nations has begun its work in London. A certain number of subcommittees have been appointed to establish the working machinery and procedure of the new United Nations Organization and to prepare the work for the forthcoming General Assembly.

It is regrettable that there is very little information in the daily press and on the radio concerning these various preparatory activities. We don't know as yet whether this is the fault of the newspapers and radio news services, which might consider the workings of these committees as not presenting sufficient news value because such stars as Byrnes, Molotov, Bevin, Bidault, and T. V. Soong are absent, or whether it is the fault of the Interim Commission itself which does not want premature publicity.

But the fact remains that it is of essential importance that the public be constantly kept informed on every phase of the United Nations Organization. Otherwise the new World Organization risks being isolated from the molders of public opinion as had been the case with the League. Undoubtedly, in connection with discussions on the structure of the new World Organization many names for high official positions are being mentioned despite the fact that the final decisions will have to be made by the Assembly and the Security Council.

FREE WORLD suggests that in all the United Nations private organizations begin at once to take up with their foreign offices the appointments to the Secretariat in order to make sure that only truly internationally-minded people representing a progressive trend be selected. The new Secretariat must not become the dumping place for over-age or otherwise stale diplomats. The widest publicity should be given in advance to the planned appointments in order to give the people a chance to make their opinion known.

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V-J

This was the day it ended
And the commentator and the liberal actor
hoarse but heroic from all night vigil
choked out the words.
And the world paused and then said can it be and rang a bell.
A hairdresser ran from her shoppe and tore some paper at the curb
Seeking something immense and mighty in the air
But the bits fell back against her, sadly, gently—lifted by a little wind.
The youngster closed his lessons
and made dizzy circles in his yard, feverish from sound of sirens.
And the dead were counted
And the long travail was done.
Some felt noisy and some were quiet
Some looked silly, some shed conventional tears
Several places, celebrations were less gay
(Manchuria, for instance—a man fell and watched his blood and
precious life pour slowly through astonished hands)
A few prayed and some remembered unlucky ones they knew.

I knew one named Dick and one named Morrison.
No one of us may say of these they did not die in vain
No man who does not live the words may say them.
Lipservice died a paltry death on air that thunders yet
with names of cities.
Rotterdam—Warsaw—Coventry—yes, and Hiroshima, Hiroshima, too.
Say it and watch the earth quiver.
No talk. Talk does not spring from throats still bruised with grief.
Come home now, warrior, welcome home, G.I.
Once more for you the ailing forgotten water-spigot
And remembered back porches in the fading light.
Now to us—the waiting, and the watchers, and those who prayed
Now for us—the zero hour, cold flight into an unknown dawn
Now to us—the moment arrives, your rich and terrible gift.
It has come.
We touch the wrappings and the fingers tremble
having felt that hope and death lie side by side within.

And so the battle finishes.
And this is the beginning.

Loudie Claar

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WORLD TRAVEL

A NEW ERA OF UNITED NATIONS FRIENDSHIP

With the coming of peace, FREE WORLD is deeply interested in the era of travel that is sure to begin—travel not only within these United States, but throughout all the world. Travel by Americans and by peoples of the United Nations who will come to see how Americans live at home. In the increased opportunity for travel we see a far-reaching significance: the means of truly implementing the peace by creating a sense of world citizenship and of the "oneness" of all humanity. That is why FREE WORLD celebrates the dawn of peace by initiating this TRAVEL Department of the magazine. Here, from month to month, we will bring to the readers every bit of information available about the opening up of travel facilities, transportation, hotel and other arrangements in the various countries, entertainment and comforts. But also—and this seems to us vital—we will prepare them to have a better understanding of the peoples in the countries they may visit, so that they may not go just as "tourists"—but as friends, eager and able to penetrate to the true life of their neighbors around the world.

In the era just beginning, it is our faith that travel on a vast scale will give more guarantees of lasting peace than armies or navies, or bombs. By understanding, the peace of the world will be made to endure.

THOUSANDS of hotels throughout the world are today refurbishing their best suites. Country inn keepers in by-places unheard of by any but the people who write guide books are giving their upstairs rooms a fresh coat of paint. For in just a little while now a round-the-world flow of tourists will begin that will put all prewar travel notions to shame.

And why not? On airfields of five continents giant planes are waiting to be put to postwar use. In fact, turning from their military objectives of destruction of human life, they are even

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now carrying food to famished lands. Tomorrow they will carry business men with contracts in their pockets, anxious to buy and sell. And not further away than the day after, the great mass trek of humanity will begin.

It has really begun today. Out in Wichita, Kansas, John Jones and his wife stopped off at the downtown store that used to be a travel agency, and asked Jim Phillips, who in wartime has been operating as head of the local draft board, if he didn't happen to have some of those old travel folders around. It seems Mr. Jones was in Paris during the last war, and John Jones, Jr., has been there only recently. That might seem like enough of Paris for the Joneses . . . but not at all. "You can't get too much of a good thing," dad says. The next time the whole family is going to see Paris . . . and go on from there to see Normandy and Brittany where the D-day they heard so much about took place. They'll do a spell on the Riviera—inexpensively they hope—because they've heard it's even nicer than Miami Beach.

ON Paris there's complete agreement in the Jones household. Mrs. Jones and daughter Mary want to go there because it's the fashion paradise they've always dreamed about. Mr. Jones and son have other reasons for liking gay Paree, though dad denies the charge that he's a gay old dog. Surprisingly, he proposes also that the women folk remain in Paris while the men take a brief trip to Germany. He wants to look over the battlefields, the Rhine crossings, and see with his own eyes how the master race has been defeated. He wants to have a look at the house where "Ike" had his headquarters.

It's going to be at least ten months, perhaps, before Mr. Jones's travel dream comes true. But that isn't so very long. And he's right to begin planning now, because it's easier now than when the trek begins.

The truth is that the travel industry has, as a result of the war, untold resources. In this war the Allies and the enemy powers have transported roughly 75,000,000 people back and forth on the continent of Europe; 10,000,000 across the seven seas. This is more than all the migration of peoples of the world during the past four centuries.

In postwar figures, this wartime total of transportation means that world travel, instead of any longer being the exclusive privilege of the few, will be a pleasant annual prospect for almost any family of moderate means. And moderate means are a social objective that more and more families everywhere are going to be permitted to realize.

Every town on earth, or mountain pass or desert oasis—even Kumning in the heart of China, where Mr. Jones's cousin was a supply officer for material going over the Burma Road—is within sixty flying hours of Wichita. And the cost? . . . well, the prices are not yet stabilized, but for anywhere from $700 by steamer to $1,500 by plane (and this is before the prices go down, as they obviously will) any continent in the world can be explored. For twice either of these sums, the whole world can be explored.

BUT what will be the conditions in these countries ten months from now, when the Jones family begins to travel? For obviously, while Mr. Jones realizes the horrors and destruction of this war, his main idea is not to visit ruins. Americans are all explorers at heart, but they are also proponents of steam heat and bathtubs and bacon and eggs for breakfast.

Everything won't be perfection in the far places, that must be admitted at the start. But a modicum of comfort will exist practically everywhere. There will, for instance, be eggs in Paris, and in the larger cities of France. And there will be breakfast eggs and plenty of good nourishment in the rural places, even though at some of the in-between stops the eggs and extras may not be too easy to find. There will be warmth—if not all day, at least at the crucial hours of rising and retiring.

Many of the trains the Jones family will travel on will bear the scars of war, and of the battles they have been in—when Allied bombers, swooping down upon transportation, knocked out locomotives and inflicted wounds on rolling stock that are still visible, even after repairs. On the Continent, it may be a long time before train service reaches its prewar high standard of comfort. But repair and rebuilding and expansion is going forward at a constantly accelerating pace. Nor is it merely the prewar level the European planners have in mind. They are thinking of streamlined flyers now, that will link the great capitals such as Paris with the little towns and watering spots American tourists love.

Why all this feverish haste to make the house ready for the coming of the Americans? Wouldn't the French and the British, and the Italians, the Australians, the people of India, the Chinese, prefer to see the Americans stay back home where they belong after the need of them to help in the fighting is over?

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No, of course they wouldn't. First, there's a good economic reason why the American tourist is welcomed abroad. We send our goods abroad and other peoples buy them, and take a lesson in modern gadgets of comfort from us. But in order to buy from us, they must sell us something too.

In France, though, they'd tell you there's a reason that supersedes the economic one. This innkeeper's son was a member of the Maquis. He refused to obey the order to give himself up for deportation to forced labor in Germany during this war. He and his buddies ran away, and hid in the mountains, and fought back and harried the German troops behind the lines. After D-day American paratroopers came to join them, and out there in the valley one of them lies under a small white cross. You don't place an economic value on friendships like that. You just say of the Americans who came to liberate France, "We love you."

MR. JONES will find a weakened, but a more mature France. He will see with his own eyes the immense strength of democracy. In world-famous museums, such as the Louvre, Cluny; in the cathedrals of Notre Dame, Chartres, Rouen; in the Sorbonne, he will find that the thirst for art, literature and science has never died, despite four years of horrible occupation.

The musical shows, which are so typically Parisian, will have all their old glamor, and the dancers will dance more beautifully because they have grown so slim under wartime rationing. Mary Jones, who has been a good French scholar will enjoy something more than that, the new plays and the new authors of France: the powerful poetry of Aragon, the dramas of Jean Paul Sartre. A great new conflict in French thinking has grown up, she will find, between the traditionalists and the progressives. The former are represented in literature by Francois Mauriac, and the progressives by Paul Langevin.

Mr. Jones remembers Paris right after the last war, when the women were all smartly dressed in black with tremendously high heels. They were more feminine than any of the American girls he knew. But now, he will be surprised to find the girls in slacks, clopping along on shoes with wooden soles. Surprisingly, too, he'll find them feminine still.

The Joneses will go in swimming in the Seine. It has become the river of the people, with popular and most attractive beaches along its banks, and swimming pools that are really part of the river itself walled off and kept clean and pure. They will find the great city vastly changed in many other ways, ways that are spiritual, but that express themselves in outward and visible things. The plain people have somehow surged into those coldly "upper-crust" districts like the Champs Elysees, Passy, Auteuil. They have fought for these places, and wrested them from the nazis at the risk of their lives. Paris is more unified; that invisible barricade which separated the popular working class quarters from the "aristocracy" has been melted away in the heat of this struggle. Americans never liked such distinctions. They'll like the new Paris better than the old. They'll go to see the spots where the battles for liberation took place—Place de la Republique, Place de l'Hotel de Ville and the 19th Arrondissement—and will discover the strange beauty of those small streets in which for 160 years the cry for freedom has never ceased.

The Joneses are specializing on Paris and France right now, because they plan to make France their first stop in globetrotting. But around the corner on University Avenue are the Walkers. Their son was in India during the war, and saw that wonderful building the Taj Mahal. He told them India is a mysterious and an amazing land, and that its people are very friendly, even though very poor. Sam Walker is very eager to take his young wife to show her India after the war. Evenings on the porch in the swing the Walkers and the Joneses are arguing about the merits of a first trip to France or to India. They are agreed that eventually they must see both places. In the meantime they plan to stop around at the library and get some books on the countries of their choice.

What does it matter which country they see first—or whether one of the other families with whom they are close friends chooses to start out first for China, or for Australia, or for Russia? The big thing is that Americans already have been bitten by the postwar travel bug. And wherever they go, they will find that the people welcome Americans, as neighbors, in a closer and friendlier way than people ever looked upon Americans before. That is what will make travel enjoyable.

* * *

In forthcoming issues, FREE WORLD will take its readers on a "tourist trip" around the globe. Problems of travel in many countries will be analyzed, and something of possible postwar "sights" and experiences will be told.

If you plan to roam after the war—and who doesn't?—come with us in future issues, speculatively globe spanning.

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GOEBBELS DIDN'T WANT THE PEOPLE TO KNOW

This is what remains of the infamous Wilhelmstrasse and of the even more infamous Propaganda Ministry of Joseph Goebbels. The wrecked building in the foreground is all that is left of the gigantic machine whose aim it was to kill truth, a free press and human dignity. The lie erected to a system of State and words printed on orders can last for a short time while freedom rejuvenates itself constantly and can last forever.

Mr. Kent Cooper's article on the opposite page reminds one again of the urgency of making the freedom of the press one of the immediate essentials.

Notice on the picture the sense of irony of the Russian occupation armies. The inscription reads: "The strength of the Red Army consists in the fact that it does not have, and cannot have, racial hatred against other peoples, not even against the Germans; in the fact that it is educated in the spirit of equality of all peoples and races; in the spirit of respect of the rights of other peoples."

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THE RIGHT TO KNOW

TOWARD WORLD PRESS FREEDOM

by KENT COOPER

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

A year ago Mr. Cooper wrote for FREE WORLD an article entitled Free News: First Step in Peace." His article was the opening gun of an immense campaign all over the world for the freedom of the press which culminated in a tour of American newspaper representatives to the various United Nations in order to further the cause of this vital freedom. We are happy to have started this campaign, and we present today Mr. Cooper's newest contribution.

IT is significant that world-wide freedom of the press has been described as one specific American war aim which has been "explicitly approved by the highest political bodies in our land and which has been disapproved of by nobody" in America.

In an article written for FREE WORLD just a year ago, I turned the light—as I had first done two years previously—on the dark record of how war makers used controlled news to instill mass hatreds, then to plunge hate-blinded peoples into the frenzy of war. And I outlined initial progress made toward the recognition that there can be no hope of durable peace unless all potential aggressors are disarmed of this essential war-making weapon.

Without permitting ourselves to become over-optimistic, and without ignoring how far-away may be the ultimate goal, it is important to reflect upon how this ideal has taken hold in America and other freedom-loving lands.

In the past year alone, the principle of world-wide news freedom has been endorsed by a unanimous joint resolution of Congress. The President of the United States and spokesmen for several foreign governments have supported it. There have been hundreds of ringing editorials in the press of several countries, and magazine articles have appeared in many languages. In America, many State legislatures and other bodies have favored it.

The Inter-American Conference at Mexico City in March resolved that the American Republics "will do everything possible" to guarantee world freedom of information. When the United Nations Organization took form in San Francisco in June, Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., then Secretary of State, said that as soon as the Organization's Commission for the Promotion of Human Rights is established:

"We may be sure, I think, that . . . the United States Government will urge that it should promptly study the means of promoting freedom of the press, freedom of communication, and fuller flow of knowledge and of information between all peoples."

During the early months of this year, a committee of the American Society of Newspaper Editors traveled 40,000 miles around the world and discussed this great objective with government officials and editors of eleven countries. They reported that so far as officials were concerned, there was dissent in "but few cases," while editors received the proposals enthusiastically, proving "beyond any doubt that the spark of press freedom is alight" in the world.

It is a most hopeful augury that in the Soviet Union, where the definition of "press freedom" is divergent from ours, the subject is being written about and discussed. At least one well-known Russian newspaperman wrote recently that Russia's critical attitude toward our press does not mean that agreement "on purely practical problems is impossible for improving information and mutual communication between the Soviet and the American or any other press."

There are other indications that could be described to show the accelerating development of interest in the subject, with unusual reactions in a comparatively short time. There has been, for instance, a relaxing of government

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censorship in some countries where government control of the news has been in effect for many years. News channels are being freely opened in other countries burdened by highly restrictive arrangements before the war.

I do not recall any similar movement that has developed so rapidly with such far-reaching and significant results in such a brief period. Certainly, there is no record of anything like it, where as in this, there was no organized nor financially supported effort.

What is it then, that has brought it about? It is a conviction upon the part of large numbers of people that as a basic and necessary foundation toward international understanding and peace, there must be established everywhere the principle which I have defined as "the right to know." It is a recognition that unless this right is made secure, none of the fundamental human rights which comprise freedom can be safe.

Since this idea of freedom of the press being universally adopted is distinctly American in its origin, it is important to make clear what we mean by press freedom. But first, by pointing to the American origin of the idea, let me make clear that I do not minimize the profoundly important contributions from other lands to this essential ingredient of human freedom. The struggle for freedom to print goes back centuries in Great Britain. Active adherence to the present movement by that greatest of international news agencies, Reuters, and its owners since 1941, the British press, is one of its strongest bulwarks.

In America, there is a misconception that the Constitution of the United States grants newspaper owners special rights and privileges. It does no such thing. Newspapers are not even mentioned in the Constitution. A free press or the right to print comes about because the first amendment of the Constitution, among other things, says, "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of . . . the press. . . ." This meant that there would be no abridgment of the right to print, whether what is printed is a book, a pamphlet, a newspaper, or whatnot.

Let me emphasize the importance of the printed word because the printed word becomes the historic record. History is based upon the record which is prepared for the eye. There is also the medium of oral communication. But history will not be based upon the unwritten word which reaches the brain through the ear. It will be based upon what reaches the brain through the eye. In this respect, the importance of communication of thought and ideas by radio fades by comparison. The right to print—freedom of the press—supersedes in importance all other means of communication of facts to the mind.

Now we in America believe that this constitutional stipulation that Congress may enact no law abridging the right to print, establishes a freedom that is an essential part of the well-being of every individual. We believe that the fact that there can be no law to prohibit the right to print has contributed to making our country a vital and powerful democracy. We know, then, that freedom of the press is not a baronial right of the owners of newspapers. We know that it is a guarantee of human liberty. It is a right of all the people.

Referring specifically to the newspaper press, we have seen, through the years, an unusual growth with a widening scope of responsibility, in this and certain other lands where the press has been the freest from government restriction or control and from political or private subsidy. These achievements have occurred primarily where the press has learned to maintain itself in complete independence through advertising and subscription rates.

It is significant that where the newspaper press has achieved this full stature of independence, the principles of full and unbiased reporting, of presenting the facts both pleasant and unpleasant, favorable and unfavorable, have made greatest progress. This concept of newspaper responsibility was admirably expressed by the *London Times,* in its recent 50,000th issue. It defined the duty of a newspaper:

"To hold fast to the distinction between fact and opinion and, whatever views it may hold and express, to furnish for the readers' judgment a supply of news as full and impartial as energy and good faith can make it."

In an earlier era of newspaper publishing, in America as elsewhere, most newspapers were organs of particular political or economic groups devoted primarily to the presentation of a specific point of view. They were devoted to special pleading. Those were the days, not of newspapering as we understand it today, but of pamphleteering. Only that rare reader who had the time and opportunity to read a very wide assortment of publications could hope for balanced information.

In the extreme stress, the emotionalism and impatience of these bitter years of war, it has been all too easy to lose sight of the magnificent achievements in promotion of human understanding, of social welfare and progress, and

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of freedom in democracy, made through the day-to-day enlightenment of a free press.

In lands such as our own, there is danger that we become so accustomed to this freedom that we may hold it too cheaply. Many become impatient with a freedom which means freedom to criticize, freedom to present unpleasant facts and unpopular viewpoints. In lands which have never known freedom of the press as we know it, groups in power are unaccustomed to freely expressed opposition, and find many reasons to avoid adoption of principles which permit it.

In some quarters it has become popular to view with alarm the fact that a newspaper publishing venture requires considerable financial capital. Russian critics of the American form of press freedom make much of the private capital involved. But what is important in a free society is the kind of press that owes its continuing existence to the patronage of its readers who thus make it free and independent. A newspaper is not free without financial independence. Whether a newspaper is owned by an individual, by a group, by its employees, cooperatively, or however, is unimportant, so long as it is free. In a free society, there is nothing to prevent any of these forms of ownership, and in fact all have been tried.

Perfection cannot be claimed for any human institution. There has been no stifling of criticism of the press in America. We have observed its shortcomings and have judged them as such, placing them on the debit side of the ledger. With the full picture of what we have in the way of a newspaper press, we should, without apology, hope that our kind of press freedom may be guaranteed to the peoples of all nations. I am not one who would curb our hopes that full press freedom obtain everywhere.

I do not start with the idea that such a hope may be impractical in this troubled world, that we want less than that, or that this is the time to talk of compromise. So when others use such phrases as "free flow of news" and "free access to news" I accept these as some of the things that go with press freedom. They are the details of the larger grant of the right to print.

I am aware that an occasional voice has been raised to warn that this great American objective for world-wide press freedom is part of some sort of imperialistic scheme to expand American news activities over the globe. Nothing could be further from the facts. Achievement of real press freedom over the world would assure that the press of no nation should be forced to receive all or any substantial portion of its world news through New York, or London, or Moscow, or Berlin, or any other place. The fear that there might be any such ulterior motive in this objective probably stems from inability to throw off the old and dangerous conception of news as something to be used as an instrument of national policy.

The present American news agencies have from their beginnings been owned by newspapers or newspaper owners, and have never been subject to government dictation, beyond the military necessities of wartime, and even in wartime have freely reported news critical of the American government and its policies, when such news did not involve military security.

First, world-wide freedom of press must carry with it, as an essential function, free exchange of news between the newspapers of the world. American newspapers should not, and do not, desire to take news out of a country without a return of news to that country. Nor should the newspapers of any country do so.

Secondly, it requires an adequate and vastly expanded world communications system, with low, uniform and non-discriminatory rates. A world-wide free press costs nothing in money. It does require enlightenment and education. With an adequate communications system, exchange of news would cost little. An adequate communications system would cost much, but not a fraction of one per cent of the cost of world armament.

Within the grasp of this generation, for the first time in world history, lie the means to set in motion forces for the achievement of world acquaintance and understanding through orderly processes of exchange of facts and opinions, thus composing differences and making allowances for shortcomings. Democratic communities large and small have long lived peacefully through this process. So can the whole world.

There will never be an end to differences of opinions, of philosophies, or objectives, and the Almighty be praised that this is true, because an end to these differences would mean an end to progress. But let us provide the means for permitting these differences to perform their constructive function of the enrichment of civilization, rather than to enclose them again in vast pressure areas which would certainly explode into another war from which our civilization might never recover.

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Nationwide AMERICAN

THIS poll, conducted exclusively for FREE WORLD by the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Denver, represents a cross-section of the views of the general public throughout the United States, at all economic and educational levels, concerning problems of national and international significance. Last month's questions take on peculiar significance today, in the light of the war's end and the immediate need of creating a world in which peace can be assured. For probably the best guarantee of peace is to be found in the wills and hearts of people throughout the

Our Last Month's Questions:

1. *Do you think the radio stations you listen to tell you enough about what goes on in foreign countries, or do you think they should tell you more?*

2. *Do you think the newspapers you read tell you enough about what goes on in foreign countries, or do you think they should tell you more?*

3. *Do you think the magazines you read tell you enough about what goes on in foreign countries, or do you think they should tell you more?*

THE last ten years have seen the American radio and press, as never before, devote large portions of their time and space to informing the American public of what is going on in foreign countries. One might expect that the public would by now have become sated with foreign news and that a reaction would have set in. Yet, while the public as a whole seem to feel they are getting "enough" news of foreign countries, it is interesting to note that a large minority feel they should be told even more. Indeed, among the college-educated persons who were interviewed on this nation-wide survey, almost half thought that the radio, for example, should devote *more* time to foreign news.

The public makes little distinction among the three media listed in the questions, tending to feel either that all three are not telling enough about foreign countries, or that all three are presently doing a good job. But, excluding those without opinions (one-third of the public, for instance, either doesn't read magazines of a political nature or has no opinion about them), it is apparent that magazines take first place in the public's estimation in the matter of foreign news coverage. Of those with opinions 42% believe that the radio and newspapers should give more foreign news, while only 31% hold this opinion about magazines.

Those who say the communications media are currently giving the public "enough" in-

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OPINION POLL

world who understand their neighbors' problems and who are kept fully informed on events wherever they take place. There was a time when news from the other side of the globe took many months to reach the United States. In our time every major happening can be known almost instantly. The only danger is that, in spite of our marvellous communication facilities, vital information may be held up, or not given the full distribution it deserves. In connection with this poll, read also the article in this issue by Kent Cooper, president of the *Associated Press.*

The Answers:

		Enough	*Should Tell More*	*Don't Know*
1.	*Replies to the question about the radio gave the following reactions.....*	*53%*	*39%*	*6%*
2.	*Those replying to the query about the newspapers gave these results.....*	*54%*	*39%*	*7%*
3.	*Replies concerning the magazines showed the following percentages..*	*46%*	*21%*	*33%*

(Of those replying to the first query, about 2 per cent volunteered the information that they had no radio. Of those replying to the third query, 22 per cent said they did not read political magazines.)

formation tend to fall into three groups, as may be seen by the comments offered by typical respondents. One group feels that there is no chance to read and digest all the foreign news offered now, and that more news would just make the situation worse. Another group is of the opinion that accuracy is more important than quantity, and that all the important facts are now given coverage. A third group lacks interest in foreign affairs and often says there is too much news of this type now.

It must be emphasized that the question deals only with the *amount* of foreign news offered, and not with the accuracy or clarity of that news.

Comments

Comments of those who replied to the poll questions were revealing. A policeman said, "I don't believe in keeping things from the public. We are able to stand the facts." But the wife of a meat foreman in Chicago disagreed, insisting, "I don't think they should tell too much, it would make you very unhappy." A minority took her point of view, but a far larger number showed themselves dissatisfied either with the quantity or with the quality of the information they received about other countries. Typical comments were:

"The radio very seldom has history

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or any program that tells what some other country is like, how its government is run, what kind of education they give their children, what the labor situation is, or how they run their homes."

"They should tell us more how people in other countries live, not just news items."

"They should tell us about the suppressed and the minorities in other countries."

"We hear short wave from France and England—they tell a lot more about what's going on than we get here."

"Some magazines do a pretty good job. Newspapers? I question whether they know what's going on. They are harnessed."

"Magazines have a big chance to improve. Newspapers should take one country, say Argentina, and give all the data—then go on to another country. Give all statistics, old and present day. That would open up the eyes of the people. Put two columns or so every night, in such fashion that the children could make a scrap book of it, in English fifth-graders could understand."

"The American people are entitled to the full facts, so they can realize fully the truth of what is going on. So we can cooperate and understand the peoples of other countries better."

"The people don't know half of what is going on. When the boys get back, they will tell it."

Our NEW Question:

THE next subject on which Americans throughout the country will be queried has vital importance in preventing the outbreak of another war anywhere in the world. FREE WORLD readers are as usual invited to participate in this poll, by mailing in their answers and comments. Here is the question:

Do you think countries should get together in the world organization to decide how big an army, navy and air force each country should have?

FREE WORLD, 144 Bleecker Street, New York 12, N. Y.

I believe.....

.....

.....

Comments: .....

.....

Name: .....

Address: .....

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Postwar Relaxation

A Story by Arnold Sundegaard

THE telephone rang before seven in the morning one day last week. My friend, Torvald, was at the other end of the line shouting, "Well, what about it? Have you put them into effect?"

"Have I put what into what effect?" I asked sleepily.

"Your postwar plans, of course. You used to have postwar plans, didn't you?"

"I still have them," I said.

"Then you'd better put them into effect," he yelled, "because the war is over."

With that Torvald hung up the phone and I was dimly aware that the day we had all waited for had come at last. But it made no complete impression at first. It was raining outside. As long as I was downstairs I thought I might as well start some coffee. I went out to the kitchen and just as I turned up the flame the phone rang again. It was Torvald. "How are they coming?" he asked excitedly.

"Torvald," I said patiently, "a man doesn't start fulfilling his postwar plans at seven in the morning. Besides it's raining out."

"What about it?" he asked. "They start wars in the rain. They fight battles at seven in the morning."

"Well, give me time to finish my coffee at least."

"Who cares about your coffee?" he screamed. "We've got a peace on our hands now." And with that he hung up the phone again.

"Who was that calling?" my wife asked as she came down the stairs.

"It was only Torvald kidding me about my postwar dreams. You know how Torvald is. Always prodding a man about his resolutions."

"What resolutions did you make to Torvald?"

"Nothing extraordinary. I only said when the war is over I would learn to relax again. Tensions will vanish from the world. Reconversion will put everyone to work and give them a better living than ever. People will have time for love. Parents will have time for their children. Prejudices will disappear overnight. Things like that."

"Is that what's going to relax you, dear?"

"Why not? The world will be one nation and people will be at ease with each other."

"Why did Torvald want to call you about that today?"

"Well, he said now that we've got peace on our hands I should put all those things into effect."

"Do we have a peace on our hands?" she called cheerily.

"That's what Torvald said. He heard it announced on the air."

"Well, good grief, man, why didn't you tell me?" she yelled as she dashed for the radio.

"I don't know," I told her, "I guess my mind was relaxing already."

The announcer apparently had finished his announcement about surrender and was going on to other affairs. He introduced two jolly fellows who must have been hiding in the studio for just such an occasion and they chatted breezily with each other about the sudden

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turn of events. One said we'd have five million unemployed and another said it would be eight million and things would be in a bad way. They both agreed that the soldiers would come home and upset the labor market and we weren't prepared for that. "And furthermore," one of them warned, "don't expect sugar on your tables for a long time yet because the government will insist on sending most of it to Europe." What the sugar had to do with the labor market I couldn't quite understand and I found myself all twisted up inside trying to figure it out.

I must have looked pretty glum as we sat down to breakfast because my wife said, "Aren't you happy about it?" and I said, "Yes, I'm happy but I'm not relaxed. I wish Torvald hadn't called me like that."

As we got up from the table more announcers were on the air. Yes, they repeated, peace is here at last and gas rationing would be lifted and we could have automobile races and send singing messages again.

"That's a cheerful note," I said. "Singing messages."

"And auto racing, too," my wife added. "Hurry home from work and we'll go to some auto races tonight. Those accidents they have always relax a person."

On the bus going downtown I was lucky enough to sit next to Charley Anderson who is always full of ideas and new conceptions. This morning, however, he talked about how much rain we were having and how poorly the tomatoes looked this summer. After a few blocks I said, "Did you hear the radio this morning?"

"Oh, yes," he said. "You mean about the war being over."

"Yes, that's right. All except the fighting."

"Yes, I heard it," Charley replied staring gloomily out the window.

"What do you think?" I asked.

"What can a man think?" he said. "We just have to make the best of it. We all knew it was coming some day."

"What about your job?"

"Oh, I'll lose that now," Charley said. "I'm an essential worker."

"Reconversion will take care of you," I assured him.

"I'm not going to wait for reconversion. I'm going to get in on the ground floor with this atomic business. That's the coming thing the papers say."

"Do you know much about it?"

"Oh, yes, I've followed it in the papers," Charley said confidently. "There's nothing to it once you get the hang of it. I'll concentrate on cars."

"What kind of car will that be?"

"Well, you don't have a gas tank at all. Just a sort of brick filled with compressed atoms. The engine is about the size of your fist and it sucks up the atoms and splits them in half. One half is protons and the other half is electrons. That's what makes it go."

"It sounds simple enough," I admitted.

"It'll take a little study at first. Might even have to go to night school for a while. But I've got some money socked away and I figure it's best to invest on the ground floor before some damned foreigner comes along and beats me to it."

I had to get off the bus at that point. As I rose in my seat I asked, "Why would a foreigner do that?" and Charley said, "They started the war, didn't they?" As I stepped to the curb I felt more uneasy than ever thinking about atoms and the new era Charley was taking over. I had a picture of him frantically stuffing atoms into bricks before some sinister foreigner got the same idea. Yes, there was mystery and a new world here all right. But some of the old world was still riding that bus with Charley.

At the corner there were several stacks of newspaper for sale. I bought a paper and started up the street. The rain had stopped now and the sun was coming out. A woman with a baby carriage was waiting outside a grocery store. She apparently wanted to go inside to shop but the baby was crying. She shook the carriage in an attempt to quiet him. Her hands were blue from gripping the carriage handle so tightly and as I walked by she bent angrily over the child and shrieked, "Sleep, damn you, sleep!"

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Her words kept running through my mind, "Sleep, damn you, sleep!" Now there's tension, I told myself, and exactly the kind I had told Torvald I was going to put a stop to. I decided to go back and take care of the baby for her but I was afraid she would shriek at me, too. Besides it was getting close to nine o'clock and I couldn't be late for work. I continued up the street while the baby cried and the woman yelled.

In the elevator I glanced inside the paper and there was an article saying that scientists were busily engaged in a scheme to neutralize the effect of atomic forces. "There goes Charley's automobile," I thought to myself. The article stated, "America's next great search will be for weapons of defense to take its place next to our new bomb. In no other way can our nation protect its world-conquering scientific gains. It is our one protection against the Red menace!" I staggered out of the elevator and my head swam with wonder and fright. How will that put the world at ease, I wondered.

When I reached the office several of the girls were standing helplessly outside the door. The door was locked and they couldn't find out when it would be opened. "Maybe we've gone out of business," one of them said while another suggested, "I think today must be a holiday." We waited for an hour and then started home.

Out in the street people were milling about and blowing horns. Soldiers and sailors were stopping every girl they met to kiss them. "Now that's nice and natural," I thought. And then I saw a group of fourteen-year-old boys swoop down on a girl standing in the middle of the street. They quickly surrounded her and one by one grabbed her in their arms and kissed her. She screamed in terror, broke loose from their grip, and ran away sobbing. They laughed hideously and went down the street looking for more girls.

It was too much for me. I decided to go home where it would be quiet.

The house was empty when I reached home. My wife has gone shopping, I thought, but on the kitchen table there was a note. "I've gone out to look for a job," it said. "Your office called and said they held a closed meeting this morning and decided to cut down on the staff. They said you wouldn't be needed any longer."

I sat there somewhat stunned. I got up and started to make a cup of coffee for myself. As I turned up the flame the telephone rang. It was Torvald. "I'm sorry I called you so early this morning," he said. "There was some mistake. The peace isn't here yet."

My first impulse was one of joy. "Maybe I'll get my job back," I started to say but Torvald was saying, "How do you feel about your post-war plans now? Do you think you'll be relaxed?"

"Oh, yes, I'm going to be relaxed eventually," I told Torvald. "Only I realize it's going to take a lot of work."

Coming Next Month

Two important articles on subjects related to the world organization will appear in the October issue of* FREE WORLD. *The study of the Economic and Social Council has been delayed because Oscar Cox, who is preparing it, was called to the Potsdam conference in his function as deputy director of the Foreign Economic Administration. He has been touring Europe, and his article will be greatly enriched by first-hand observations. Also, in October, Alexander Meiklejohn will write on "Education Under the Charter." Max Mandellaub's previously announced "Fascists Still At Work in Occupied Europe" will present a complete report on that vital subject.

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Woman of the Maquis

by

CAPTAIN LUCIENNE MARCHAND

SEE PICTURES PAGE 24

We were particularly happy to receive in our offices Captain Lucienne Marchand, one of the great heroines of the French Resistance, with whom we were in touch during the last four years through her husband, Rene Lavigne, one of our French editors. Our readers will remember the great series of Underground Reports and our undying confidence in the forces of Resistance. We are proud to present Captain Marchand's moving story.

IN the month of September 1944, I was lying in the hospital at Vierzon slowly recovering from wounds received during the battle for liberation.

One morning, a delegation of Spanish women came to offer me a spray of flowers in French and Spanish colorings. The brown-haired young woman who came to my bedside said: "Our men have aided you in the Maquis to liberate your country. It is now your turn to help us liberate ours."

It was true, we had had Spanish anti-fascist refugees in the Maquis who fought beside us at St. Hilaire near Vierzon against a column of 2,000 Germans. One of them whom I replaced when he was wounded at his machine-gun, whispered: "They've got me—but I already killed a pretty good pile of Germans when the nazis came to murder our Republican Spain with the help of that little . . . Franco!"

The Spanish women's plea did not surprise me too much. Since the German occupation we had become accustomed to thinking of fascism as a menace that all the democracies of Europe and of the world should unite to combat. The defenders of liberty were of all nationalities.

I SHALL never forget the young Polish doctor who belonged to the Resistance in our region and who, when he was taken by surprise on the platform of a railroad station, whipped out his revolver and shot down four SS men before he himself fell, mortally wounded. In their fury, the Germans trampled his body with their boots, disfigured his face. They had wanted to take him alive, but his courage had cost them dearly.

One could multiply the examples. And it is no fault of mine if our debt to the Spanish Republicans has not yet been paid. Lying on my bed in the hospital, I was at that time only a poor thing, incapable of action. But the Spanish women saw in me a symbol that increased their faith in victory. They called me "the miraculous one." It was, to be sure, a miracle that I had been saved after a battle at night close to the station at Vierzon, where I had reported to take part in a mission to seize some weapons, two days after the battle of St. Hilaire.

WE had already dispatched a truckload of ammunition and hand grenades when the stormtroopers attacked us. We were obliged to retreat over the bridge. As I covered the retreat, I saw that the Germans had spotted me. It was a fine clear night, lighted by the bluish radiance of the moon. My American rifle had already killed two SS men before I myself was wounded. I had only one thought, not to let them take me alive. At the last moment, I climbed the bridge parapet and let myself fall into space at a height of 40 feet. I fell on gravel, and, amazingly, I did not break my back. As the darkness engulfed me,

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the Germans thought I was safely dead. The next morning, I was found by an old man, and carried into his house close by. In great secrecy I was transported to the hospital of Vierzon, still held by the enemy, and cared for by a doctor who, officially, transformed me into a patient who had accidentally fallen out of her third-story window. I lay between life and death. When two of my chiefs came from Paris one day, they thought I was dying. They prepared the text of a citation to be issued to me posthumously. Forthwith I began to get better but it was not without reason that my Spanish friends talked of a miracle.

THE real wonder to me was not so much to have survived my wounds as to have come through five years of secret warfare without being caught. It had been a period of untold heroism, that had cost us many nameless dead. For it is only fair to say, that from the beginning, all French men and women had an instinctive desire to struggle against the invader.

I can recall my impressions and experiences in those unhappy months beginning in June 1940. When the Petain Government asked for an armistice, I could not believe my ears. Seated before my radio, I remained there, stunned. Didn't France have an empire from which to continue the struggle, could she not follow the example of the Belgians who came to France? When Marshal Petain spoke of honor, I thought of our alliance with Great Britain. What became of it now? From that day on, I could not stop turning the button of the radio, passing from one country to another; a thirst for news had taken hold of me. And thus, thanks to a London broadcast I heard the first speech of General de Gaulle. At last, a French voice was raised to outline our path of duty. The war was continuing, he declared, and we must fit ourselves into the great effort, each in his own way.

I had the sudden realization that fascism was no longer something far off, but that it had been transplanted to our soil, even into our villages and homes. Like millions of other French people, I realized that the fight against this doctrine of destruction of the French soul had become a supreme obligation.

I quickly found an opportunity to take my place in the ranks of patriots. Escaped prisoners were seeking to pass into the unoccupied zone. I lived at Mehun-sur-Yèvre, four kilometers from the demarcation line, in the occupied zone. With my father, and aided by the farmers of the locality, I organized several points of transit. The German patrols guarded the borders of the river that served as frontier between the two zones. But young girls of my acquaintance watched for them on their rounds, and kept us informed where they were at all times. Our organization of young people worked well.

First it was escaped Allied soldiers who flowed in our direction. Later it was civilians whose lives were in danger: Jews, French newspaper men who had denounced Hitlerism, Italian anti-fascists, and many others. They needed food before they were led to the far side of the demarcation line. They often had to be sheltered for several days, and our group of Resistants accordingly became more and more numerous to meet the need. As my parents had property in the free zone, a few kilometers away, I had obtained a permanent permit to cross the line and I could establish contacts in the two zones. This explains what was meant in the "citation for service of Captain Lucienne Marchand." It says: "From 1940 she fought the Germans in a region occupied by the Germans."

IN 1941, during a stay in Marseilles where I went to rejoin my husband, we ran into an old prewar friend, Emmanuel d'Astier de la Vigerie, in one of the streets of the old quarter. He was wearing a leather jacket, and a cap, and he was hardly recognizable. We had lunch with him and I learned that he was one of the chiefs of the Resistance which had begun to be organized on a broad scale. I gave him a report on the Germans in the occupied zone, and told him of the points of passage from one zone to the other. Many of my friends were working with him, and I was more determined than ever to do all my duty when I returned to my parents' home.

An intense work of de Gaullist propaganda had to be carried on to counterbalance the effect of the propaganda for collaboration with the enemy. Since, on my arrival in Mehun in 1939, I had asked for and obtained a position as teacher, it was easy for me to approach the young people. We organized groups of eight to spread the information received by radio from London. As I had to be careful, I approached first those children whose parents were my friends. Their reception of the idea was enthusiastic, and, a fact which is important, their desire to serve the real France was encouraged by their parents. The parents themselves, with my father, organized a Resistance group. I always afterward felt, in the

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secret army and the Maquis, that I was among friends who had a common objective to attain. I say this in remembrance of my first steps in the Resistance.

I had brought to Mehun a simple gelatine mimeographing contrivance for making copies of the texts of compositions I gave my students. This allowed me to copy tracts that began to be circulated in the region. And I am proud to add that I carried on this task while the German officers who were lodged in our house, were trying to win me to collaboration by offering chocolate to my little daughter, under the anguished eyes of my mother, who feared the ever-possible search of my room and the granary.

The Resistance movement developed, and by 1943, the Department of Cher had well integrated Resistance groups, resultant of the fusion of several local units.

The groups of "irregulars," notably the *Franc-Tireurs* to which I belonged, practised sabotage. Every week railroad lines were blown up and as soon as they were repaired were immediately destroyed again. German trains were derailed and were attacked by our soldiers. We waged guerrilla warfare on all the roads on which German convoys traveled.

I took active part in the local athletic societies, where I won many adherents to my ideas. Vichy knew that the Resistants had support in the membership of the athletic societies, and conceived the plan of having all such societies controlled by a Departmental Commissioner for Youthful Sports. But neither Laval nor Petain had the time to replace the existing societies with others of clear nazi inspiration.

I became vice-president of the physical education society of Mehun, without the Germans suspecting the real reasons for my passionate interest in sport. Many of my best fighters in the Maquis came from this sport center. Two maquisards, good football players and young men of Mehun, who worked at the airport and at the factory at Matford in Bourges, were made prisoners by the Germans on June 9, 1944. Both were tortured, but they refused to reveal the whereabouts of three Maquis they knew, or the name of their chief. Both were shot. We venerate them as young martyrs.

OUR martyrs who were tortured or murdered can be numbered in France by the tens of thousands, yet no sooner did a soldier disappear than ten more patriots came to fill the ranks left vacant in the fight for the rebirth of France.

The greatest trial awaited us with the approach of the Liberation. It was for D-Day that we were preparing, that great day when the Allies would land, to be marked by our insurrection. We had our place in the common battle of all the Allies, a place foreseen in the plans of General Eisenhower.

In the course of the months of June, July and August, a whole series of battles were fought between our fighting forces and the nazis.

That was the epoch when the Germans, taken by fear, fled before us of the F.T.P., Francs-Tireurs and Partisans. Victory was approaching and we chased the German convoys on our roads until they no longer knew what direction to take. From the moment of the landing, with the call to arms of June 6, our fighting forces were tripled. Among the first Maquisards organized in Sologne in 1943, we had a medical student, a young St. Cyrien, the son of a large landowner of Sologne and two of his father's workmen, a shoemaker, truck drivers, peasants, workers from Bourges and Vierzon, rebels from the Paris region and persons escaped from a prison camp. After June 6 there were also Senegalese from a prison camp reserved for Negroes, and the Spanish workers from Vierzon who fought beside me at St. Hilaire nearby, a battle I recalled at the beginning of this article.

I passed through all stages of the Resistance before winning the grade of Lieutenant and being named chief of regional liaison.

In our tents, in the forest of Sologne, my men sometimes built dreams—the invader would be expelled, a more noble France would emerge from the ashes, the brotherhood of men would reign on the earth.

"What do you think, Renee?" anxious voices would inquire of me.

And I, who was only known to them under my *nom de guerre,* Lieutenant Renee, sought to imagine for myself this France of tomorrow, a world set free from the miasmal ideas of fascism, a world of people, just and peaceful, where one would no longer hear the noise of German boots.

Into my memory would surge this verse of Peguy:

"The faith I love the best," said God, "is hope. . . ."

It is this hope for a better world that we have not the right to disappoint.

And so I would reply to my friends:

"France shall be more beautiful than ever. And the brotherhood of free peoples shall be preserved for ever."

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POLITICAL CLIMATE

OF FRANCE

by André Sauger

IT'S a fact that the French have a taste for politics. All of us, as many as we are, engage in it more or less. Still, and this is remarkable, the Frenchman adheres with difficulty to a party. Is it because he fears losing his independence? That is possible. The Frenchman is above all an individualist who insists on living his life as he pleases. He has anarchistic tendencies. His life is especially within himself. It is composed of an incessant intellectual labor by which he would arrive at understanding and making clear that which appears to him vague. . . . Every Frenchman whose spirit evolves in the Greek cultural tradition is an unconscious follower of Descartes.

He has no real taste but for what he knows and for what has been proved. He is suspicious of innovations, of new things. Change attracts him, but frightens him, too. He waits for things to settle themselves, hesitating to gamble, as Pascal advised him to do.

The Frenchman is a static being. He is even a creature of routine. He does not belong to the race of great adventurers. He does not seek to contend with life. He finds it more agreeable to come to terms with her. And, as he harbors no wild ambitions, he arrives at this without too much difficulty.

Existence for him is neither a potentiality nor a point of departure, nor a becoming. It is something tangible, something achieved. He has the complex of the debtor, the owner, the creditor, which comes from his peasant atavism, from his tradition as a craftsman, and from his mentality of the *petite bourgeoisie*.

But make no mistake; the spirit of mysticism animates him: that of liberty. This mysticism is at the root of all his revolts, of all his rebellions. He can support neither despotism, nor tyranny, nor oppression. The very idea of restraint turns him into a man of all enthusiasms, all sacrifices, all exasperations.

The Frenchman, when his liberty is at stake, becomes an heroic fighter. He becomes the man who made the Revolution of 1789, that of 1830 and that of 1848. He is the man of the Commune. He is the man of the Liberation.

He is sensitive. He is easily and spontaneously moved. Yet it takes only a little for him to resume the appearance of indifference. The reason is that he does not wish to be the prisoner of his feelings, and still less, of men.

He grasps things quickly. In fact, he grasps them too quickly, a fact which often turns him aside from forging far ahead and from realizing what he has conceived. Frequently he holds onto only the surface values, from which he draws on the spot the conclusions which appear to him logical. And that suffices him.

IT suffices because, if to dream enflames his spirit, to undertake bores him. This is why, though often in the forefront of thinking, he frequently allows himself to be outdistanced. When he perceives that this is so, he forces himself to action. He runs after the lost time. He burns up the road. He stops before nothing. He likes to please. He finds it pleasant to be loved. He has a taste for seduction, and, being sensual, he is attracted by pleasure.

Conservative and revolutionary, economical and generous, prudent and daring, warlike and anti-militarist, individualist and social, he struggles between these contradictions which stir within him. He does not choose between them. He is satisfied to conciliate them, to wax ironical, to laugh and to play with the paradox.

The Frenchman is likewise a doubter. It comes from his peasant origin and it explains not only his "local patriotism" but also his need for assurance against adversity, and his solid attachment to his convictions.

This attachment, let us hasten to say, does

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not however signify that French opinion has not, in the course of the last thirty years, evolved considerably. Republican and socialist ideas, between 1919 and 1939, showed constant progress, whereas conservative forces became more or less stabilized, which, in view of the increase in the numbers of the electorate, indicated a definite retrogression.

Statistics inform us that in 1919, 8,286,900 votes were cast. The number was 9,738,959 in 1936, and if the votes for the Right oscillated during this period between 4,835,430 and 4,225,270, those for the Left rose from 3,451,000 to 5,515,539.

At the last elections, in 1936, votes were divided as follows:

Communists 1,500,000; Socialists 2,000,000; Radicaux-Socialistes (middle-class party) 2,000,000; Republicains-de-Gauche (right of center) 1,600,000; Federation Republicaine (right) 1,500,000; Democrates Populaires (progressive Catholic) 300,000; Conservatives 600,000.

Nevertheless, on the eve of war, truly fascist parties were set up, having key people, leaders and alliances with the fascist parties of other countries. A sort of regrouping inspired by Hitlerism took place. A new political problem presented itself.

II

IN 1940, after the National Assembly, convening at Vichy, had entrusted to Marshal Pétain the constitutional powers, the political structure of France crumbled. All its parts were more or less disarticulated, with the exception of the Communist party, which, having been dissolved in 1939, found itself in a peculiar situation. Since it had no legal existence, neither the laws of Vichy nor the ordinances of the Germans had any effect on its secret organization, which was in perfect order, with leaders, organizational framework and a militant membership thoroughly skilled in the game of illegality.

Political parties having been suppressed, an attempt was made in the southern zone to create a single party under the name of "The Marshal's Legion," using for shock troops "the police force of this Legion," which, on the double initiative of Mr. Pierre Laval and Mr. Joseph Darnand, became the "militia," a combat unit definitely subordinate to the Hitler parties of the northern zone: Jacques Doriot's French Popular Party (*Parti Populaire Français*); Clementi's National Communist Party; La Rocque's French Social Party (*Parti Social Français*); Marcel Deat's National Popular Groupment (*Rassemblement National Populaire*); Lafaye and Mesnard's Revolutionary Syndicalist Party (*Parti Syndicaliste Revolutionnaire*); and the Collaboration Group of Jacques de Lesoain and Jean Luchaire.

A SORT of regrouping soon began to take place. But this, and it is a fact that needs to be underlined, occurred on various planes: on the plane of Resistance; the military level; the political level. Everywhere, groups termed "resistance groups" were founded.

These groups, or movements, were difficult to differentiate. They had the same mysticism; they utilized the same methods of propaganda. They pursued the same objective and their members were linked one with another, not by a doctrine or by a program, but by a common will to action directed on the one hand against the invader; on the other against his Vichyite accomplices.

On the military level the regrouping took place either in the framework of the Secret Army (*l'Armee Secrete*) or in that of the Irregulars and Partisans (*Franc-Tireurs et Partisans*), or, when persons resisting forced labor congregated in our countryside, in the larger framework of the *"Maquis."*

THE undercover political situation in 1943 therefore looked like this: a perfectly organized Communist party; resistance movements of multiple and diverse aspirations, and "parties" which had recovered a theoretical existence without having any real existence.

It appeared to the Government in London that this situation was not without danger. There was fear among those surrounding General de Gaulle that the Communist party might seek to profit by the circumstances to impose itself, relying on the armed force of the *Franc-Tireurs et Partisans*. Also, in order to avoid what in London looked like a peril, General de Gaulle, when he formed his Government, appealed for the collaboration of the Communist party. He confided to the movements the task of keeping in hand, under the supervision of the Secret Army, the *"Maquis"* whom he supplied with arms.

The Communist party, fearing from its standpoint that an anti-bolshevist coalition might be formed, accepted the collaboration proposed, and operated on the Resistance level by founding the "National Front" (*Front National*), to which it adhered en masse.

All communist peril, and its corollary, all anti-bolshevist danger, thus were dispersed.

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AT the end of August and during September 1944, events took on a swift pace, and a double action that one might call revolutionary took place. The Secret Army and the *Franc-Tireurs et Partisans* and maquisards engaged in a struggle against the invader. In each Department of France "Departmental Committees of Liberation" began to exercise full political, judicial and administrative functions.

The members of the movements, for the most part young, enthusiastic and active, naturally favored the existing state of affairs by which they benefited. Those surrounding General de Gaulle, among whom were numerous officers of authoritarian tendencies, on the other hand, violently opposed this state of affairs.

The differential would no doubt have been solved by force, if there had not been leaders who were politically minded. These latter had at this epoch but one desire: to return to the normal republican régime. To this end they sought a means of conciliation.

General de Gaulle, on the advice of M. Jeanneney, concurred in this view. Upon his arrival in Paris he revised his Government, bringing into it a certain number of personalities belonging to "metropolitan France"; he gave legal existence to the Consultative Assembly; finally, he unified the armed groups under the name of French Forces of the Interior (*Forces Françaises de l'Interieur*).

These three decisions resulted in removing all armed force from the movements, in associating those inside France with the Government, and in placing the political parties on the same level as the Resistance movements.

Accordingly, one was faced with the following situation: on the one hand, the "movements of resistance," which hold the levers of control in the Departments and the means of expression: dailies, weeklies and pamphlets. On the other hand, there are the political parties that have lost all means of expression but have recovered full and entire liberty of action, and a Government that seeks to shake off the hold on itself of both the movements and the parties, but cannot break with either the one or the other.

THE political climate existing in 1944 was very largely the same as that which existed in France before the war: a leftist revolutionary tendency swollen, as in 1938, by youths enthusiastic for change and emotionally attracted by violence, but capable of throwing themselves as readily into a fascist as into a communist movement; a reformist Center; a conservative and clerical Right.

The Government, tying in with tradition, expected to make the Center the axis of its conduct, taking a political position which would permit it to maneuver sometimes with the support of the Left, sometimes of the Right, just as the radical-socialist Governments of the past had done.

But such a political policy, while sufficiently easy to practice in the heart of a parliament, becomes a more delicate thing to manage successfully when, as is the case, one has to pursue it through direct contact with the country as a whole.

Any government which finds itself deprived of a parliament – and this is an absolute rule – is forced either to act dictatorially, or to confess its impotence.

Can the Government, under the present circumstances, employ force to impose its will?

One can answer with complete certainty: No, for it would immediately see rising against itself the elements of the Left, the Resistance, even the moderate republicans. That would spell civil war.

Does the Government have a unanimous backing? There again we do not hesitate to say: No, the country is divided, as we have just seen, into three distinct tendencies.

Out of these factors stems the uneasiness of which everyone talks–an uneasiness aggravated by the insufficient food supply and the virtually total lack of coal.

THE municipal elections which took place in April did not resolve the political problem which had been raised. Nevertheless they had an indicative value which is not to be neglected.

The lesson one can draw from them is that France finds itself divided into two blocs of unequal importance: one bloc animated by what one may term "the spirit of resistance"; and one bloc to which this spirit is foreign.

This latter agglomeration, composed of "Pétainists," "Vichyites" and of former collaborators with the so-called French State, constitutes only a minority, as the election results are there to prove. Everywhere, this coalition was beaten, with the exception of certain strongholds in the provinces and in Paris, where the sections of Auteuil, Passy, the Champs Elysees, the Ternes and the Ecole Militaire remain pro-fascist.

The immense majority of the nation form a sort of new community whose aspirations, whose manner of feeling and of judging, are something new and truly original. There is a concern for profound reforms, a will to punish

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traitors, a firm attachment to liberty, the desire to understand and to evaluate themselves. Such, roughly speaking, are the features of the countenance of France as she now exists.

Nuances can meanwhile be perceived within this bloc. There is a Right and there is a Left which are differentiated in the social realm as they are on the economic plane or in matters of philosophical conceptions.

The tendency toward the Right represented by the *Fedération Républicaine,* the *Mouvement Républicain Populaire,* the *Organisation Civile et Militaire,* has been, it must be stated, sharply on the decline. The elections were an indisputable success for the parties and movements of the Left: *Mouvement de Libération Nationale, Parti Socialiste, Parti Communiste.* The results were in line with those of the elections that took place in 1936.

FROM all this there emerges that:

1. The women's vote has not in any way modified the political complexion of the country.

2. The relationship of the forces represented by the political parties is ostensibly what it was in 1936, with however a sliding toward the Left, the radical-socialists voting socialist and the socialists voting communist.

One can, as a result of the elections, classify the parties and movements in the following fashion:

On the right we find the *Fedération Républicaine* presided over by M. Louis Marin. This Rightist group, conservative and liberal, has lost some of its prewar sympathizers, but it has taken in many of those who formerly voted for more extreme parties. Its strength is, however, less than it was. This Right is by tendency more "Giraudist" than "Gaullist." It reproaches de Gaulle his "flirtation" with the communists. And yet, if, as it invites him to do, he broke with the extreme Left, it would then support him ardently. One finds the reflection of the tendencies that animate this right wing in the newspapers *La Nation* and *L'Epoque.*

Many of the former militants of the *Fedération Républicaine* have adopted the *Mouvement Républicain Populaire,* younger and more dynamic, but obedient to a Catholicism tinged with a certain clericalism.

This new movement which has come upon the political scene is not conservative in this sense that it is "reformist," in the way the *Démocrates Populaires* once were, being inspired by certain Christian trade-unionists. It has taken the place on the political checker board formerly occupied by the *Alliance Démocratique,* with this difference, that the *Mouvement Républicain Populaire* is more advanced in its doctrine in the social domain than the Alliance was, but is not, as was the Alliance, of lay inspiration. It is to be noted that those who give it their votes are much more reactionary or conservative than those who direct it. In consequence this movement will see itself obliged to pursue a Rightist political line, or be reduced to exercising a negligible influence. It is one of the firmest and strongest supports of the present government. It has at its disposition numerous newspapers and weeklies, including *L'Aube, Les Nouvelles,* and *Carrefour.*

AT the center we find the Radical-Socialist, party which has remained very "Third Republic." Its leader is M. Edouard Herriot. This party no longer has either the power or the influence it once had. Nevertheless it has preserved strong ties in the provinces. Its membership consists of moderate lay persons, formerly followers of the *Alliance Democratique,* and of radical-socialist who remained liberals. It has lost the mass of those who formerly made up its left wing, but who have passed over to socialism. As means of expression it has two newspapers: *La Dépêche de Paris* and *L'Aurore.* It is frankly anti-De Gaulle.

The "Gaullist" center is formed by a Resistance movement known by the label *O.C.M.* The O.C.M. is of conservative tendency. It is not a mass movement. It has but few adherents, almost all former *Parti Social Français,* whose opinions come very close to those formerly expressed by Colonel de la Rocque. One cannot say of this movement that the majority of its tendencies are democratic. Its paper is the *Parisien Libéré.*

At the left stands the *Mouvement de Libération Nationale,* movement born of the Resistance and bearing allegiance to De Gaulle It is a strange mixture composed of former members of the *Parti Social Français,* of former radical-socialists of authoritarian tendencies, of ex-socialists and former members of *La Jeune Republique.* It is by this fact contradictory in its manifestations, as its newspapers prove: *Combat, Franc-Tireur, Liberation, France-Soir, Resistance.* It is lacking in all real political power.

The Socialist party has lost many of its members to the Communist party; on the other hand it has recruited former radical-socialists and former members of the *Union Socialiste.* Its newspapers are: *Le Populaire, Libération-Soir, Cité-Soir.*

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As for the Communist party, it has drawn in socialist and radical-socialist elements, from which fact springs the necessity it is under to place the accent on democratic formulas and on action "in defense of the Republic."

ALL these parties being of diverse and disparate tendencies, it is natural that the elements that compose them should seek contradictory friendships and alliances.

One part of the R.N.P. feels drawn to the *Fedération Républicaine,* while another part looks to its left, dreaming of taking part in a grand assembly of the center.

This latter conception is likewise that of the O.C.M., which is very much imbued with authoritarian formulas, with ideas of planned economy and with "neo-socialist" concepts.

These ideas find sympathy in the heart of the M.L.N., among "anti-communists" and the neo-socialists of this movement, and also, for the same reasons, in the heart of the socialist party.

This tendency toward the formation of a neo-socialist, authoritarian Center conflicts on the one side with the radical socialists, and on the other with the democrats of the M.L.N. and of the Socialist party who remained faithful to the formula of a "Union of the Left" and who dream of re-establishing a new "popular front" under the name of "United Movements of the French Resistance" (*Mouvements Unis de la Resistance Française.*)

A THIRD tendency is manifest even in the heart of the Socialist party. It favors the setting up of a unique party of the extreme left under the aegis of worker unity.

General de Gaulle might be sufficiently tempted to push the formation of a centrist party, of which eventually he would become the chief, but this would be a minority party. He must therefore seek a broader base. Where can he find it? By appealing to the Communist party or to the *Fedération Républicaine?* General de Gaulle hesitates, although his last pronouncements seem to indicate that the *Fedération Républicaine* has his sympathy.

All these hesitations, these difficulties, these contradictions seem to lead us back to the normal play of the parliamentary system as it was practiced before the war, with a Right, a Republican center and a Democratic Left, and with, in the midst of all these, a single group of authoritarian neo-socialists.

Interdependence

by

THEODORE DREISER

WHILE a great deal has been said on the subject of scarcity and plenty, abundance has never been tried as a basis for national life. Russia has come nearer the actual goal than any other country in the world. But even in Russia, due to enormous natural obstacles, the ideal of abundance for all is still in the evolutionary stage.

Everything we have today is built on scarcity and the incentive of actual physical need. But this age of scarcity has failed dismally. As Willkie pointed out in *One World,* we need expansion of

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trade to provide a new basis for our whole social structure. And the structure must be based on abundance instead of scarcity.

However, only the mass can get the world out of its present mess. Interdependence, a new understanding between peoples all over the world is needed! But how are we to get that? First, the need is so great and the danger of the destruction of civilization so apparent and so close at hand, that men everywhere have begun to think of ways and means of surviving through contact and understanding of one another. As someone said, if we get scared enough we will move. And it looks as though that time were at hand.

But when I speak of the mass I speak of the individual of which the mass is made up. We must understand the necessities of many individuals. Jawaharlal Nehru, in his book *Toward Freedom,* points out that he received better treatment as a prisoner from the British than did many other Indians, because the English knew him as an individual who had attended their schools in England and had studied the various subjects they had studied. He was therefore looked upon as different; whereas ordinarily an individual of another nationality—Chinese, Burmese, Scotch or whatsoever—who had been seized upon by the English and trained as an official or a soldier of Great Britain, or as a unit of one of its armies was little more than nothing, someone to obey whatever he was told to obey or, refusing, to be shot down, or thrown into solitary confinement.

The important point that Nehru stresses is that, without some degree of understanding by all everywhere, your fellow man everywhere, although he is a social unit not so vastly different from yourself, is not acceptable to you or to the other nationalities of the world. For want of a little international education, or for want of training exactly like that you received, he becomes an outcast, an individual subject to suspicion, someone of whom it is assumed, however ignorantly, that he may injure you; not, for instance, that you may injure him.

Thus the soldier, stiffening to attention, drops his humanity, and, acting as an automaton, shoots and kills inoffensive and harmless persons who have done him no ill. He cannot, or will not, think of himself an individual *then,* nor will he consider as individuals those crowds he beats down or shoots.

As soon as one begins to think of the other side as a mass or a crowd, the human link seems to go. We forget that crowds consist of individuals, of men and women and children, who love and hate and suffer. And we must develop our intellects so as to think of this when we speak of the mass of this or that far-off country. We must begin to think of "people" as persons, their ways, customs, shortcomings and difficulties, their differences and talents—not as inexplicable automatons. For only in this way will we ever come to understand that we are brothers under one sun.

As in the beginning of this country when we were fighting, one colony against another, until a Federation of States was formed to stop the constant warring by force if necessary, we must now form and develop a Federation of Countries which are not imposed one upon another, but interwoven. People must move into other countries. They must study strange and unfamiliar ways and customs and try to learn from them. They must learn and wish to understand their fellow men on this globe. For in this way, and this way alone, can just laws be adopted and enforced to keep the peace in the interest of each individual in each country.

For to know and to understand
is to love, not to hate.

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Progress of the Struggle

Man and the Atom

NORMAN ANGELL

CONSIDER: A citizen of good will desiring to play his part as a member of a democracy where the people rule, takes toward the end of the summer of 1945 a survey of those subjects upon which he must inform himself if his rule is to be any wiser in the dangerous future than it has been in the disastrous past.

* * *

Not one of today's problems—the Charter, its nature and application, the future of Germany and Japan, the coming of socialism in Britain, the Russian declaration of war upon Japan and the relation of that event to the future of Russia, China, India and Japan, the offer of peace by Japan, the decision about the emperor—none of all this has the importance of the one single fact that man has discovered the means of releasing atomic energy and of making it an instrument of war.

Several observers have pointed out that even the limited accounts we have had make it clear that the scientists who produced this thing were not at all sure what was going to happen when they made their final test in the lonely desert. Marquis Childs tells of meeting an Englishman in touch with the progress of the experiments, who has seen this war from the inside in Washington and London and who, "though at the center of power, seems nevertheless to have been less corrupted by power than most individuals who are so exposed." This Englishman, referring to the conversations he had had with some of the scientists engaged on the atomic project, said they had admitted that "perhaps they will not be able to stop the explosion when once they produce it . . . quite possibly it will go on to tear apart at least the planet on which we live."

The Britisher went on: "I'm afraid I could not regret it too much. If that should happen, as I understand it, death would be painless and instant and those still unborn surely could not complain. Perhaps the human experiment has been a mistake."

Childs says of this remark: "He was not being either cynical or funny. He spoke out of the infinite sadness which came from his knowledge of the suffering and horror which man has inflicted on man in this terrible conflict." Childs goes on to point out that the new discovery, which dwarfs every physical achievement of the race until now, had to be used first for the destruction of human life. "It was used to create more fear and more hate. Women and children as well as men, undoubtedly by thousands, are still crying in agony and terror because the mind of man has unloosed the force of forces."

Some similar point is made by Anne O'Hare McCormick. She declared that with the relief at the fact that the Anglo-American Allies had beaten the Germans in the race to discover the secret of atomic energy went also "wonder, fear and deep misgiving, for every man knows in his heart that the bomb that harnesses the fire of the sun and the sleeping forces of the earth itself to the business of war is an ultimatum to the human race. Make peace, it says, or perish."

There truly is the alternative for civilized men: Make peace or perish.

* * *

MEN have used the phrase repeatedly before. But it has been rhetorical: this country has been able to go through two world wars and see its civilization survive, vital and expansive. But that will no longer be so in wars fought, not merely with the atomic bomb but with that

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bomb combined with the robot flying mechanism which the Germans had already begun to use in their V1 and V2 robot bombs leveled at England.

It is the most civilized, in any case, that will suffer most and first, and with the greatest likelihood of complete extinction.

The bomb will strike at urban civilization—the New Yorks and Chicagos—much more than at tribes in the African jungles or nomads of the desert. It is not the civilization of the latter, such as it is, that will necessarily be extinguished, but the life of great cities, dependent on trains and power plants and water systems, banks, an intricate and vulnerable nervous and physical organization. These would be wiped out.

What is to prevent it? For the moment the secret is in the hands of Americans, Canadians and British. But to it have contributed Danes and Germans and Swiss and Russians and within the next few years thousands of alert scientific minds the world over will be at work on the discovery, only at present in its infant stages.

The Germans were on the track of the secret at the very time they were successfully launching the robot bombs on Britain, which of themselves would have given victory to Germany if they had come a little earlier. If "luck" had been with them in the matter of the atomic bomb the overcrowded island off the northwest coast of the European continent would resemble those Japanese cities where a single bomb wiped a hundred thousand people from the earth.

Everyone agrees—and goes about his or her work as before. His or her behavior is still the result of the old impulses, the old emotions, collective and individual. Letters to the papers reveal no discernible change of mood, temper, attitude. Nor for that matter do the editors. The editorial of one of the New York tabloids, discussing the bomb, makes the suggestion that the United States should now promptly annex Canada because she is the main source of one of the indispensable raw materials of the bomb. Canada should be asked to come into the Union and if she objects—well "patriotic Americans" will know what to do about it, although, it so happens, Canada shares the secret with this country and Britain, happens to have the raw material, and some of the plants for processing it. Thus do we illustrate the New Spirit which is to enable us to make use safely of this appalling instrument which can so easily become an instrument of universal self-destruction, suicide and of world-wide death.

Whether the thing does so become, or is made the means of welfare and happiness, depends of course upon men's wisdom, understanding; upon the character of the mind behind the new instrument, the mind including emotions, tempers, animosities, dislikes, preferences, fanaticisms. There are between fifty and sixty independent nations in the world, and this discovery goes far to wipe out the difference in power of destruction between small and great nations, in the same way that a drug-soaked degenerate handling an automatic pistol is just as powerful, if it comes to physical combat, as the finest athlete in the world. Any one of the fifty or sixty sovereign nations of the world might acquire in one way or another, a few dozen or a few scores of the new bomb —or some substitute just as destructive. The government of one of these countries might have been seized by the leaders of some revolutionary group, as has so often happened in Latin America or the Balkans; or in the Near East. Such leaders might have deep grievances against a neighbor, even a great neighbor, and feel morally justified in its "punishment." Result: half a dozen great cities wiped from the face of the earth—each of itself an Amsterdam, Coventry, Berlin and Warsaw rolled into one.

• • •

JUST recall a fact which illustrates possibilities. In the early days of the war, some members of the Irish Republican Army (which, incidentally, in the name of the Irish Republic had declared war on England, as later it was to declare war on the United States) began its military operations in England by throwing a bomb in the crowded street of an English midland city. Several civilians were killed—most of them unaware of the existence even of the I.R.A., and certainly unaware of any "declaration of war." The young men responsible for that particular act of war were executed: to the protests of the Eire government, which itself has executed members of the I.R.A. for that kind of warfare.

The young men who thus acted were not gangsters. They were not acting from any motive of self-interest or profit. They knew they risked their lives and were willing to take that risk for the cause in which they believed. They were, if you will, fanatics, but brave fanatics. Furthermore, they were at "war," not merely—nor for that matter not mainly—

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against the government of England but against the government of Eire, de Valera's government; and the purpose of killing civilians in England at a time when that country was at war with Hitler was to embarrass de Valera against whom they had also declared war.

Please imagine that the bombs thrown by those gallant youngsters, instead of being of the old type which killed or injured a dozen or so at a time, had been atomic bombs, which in the brave New World in such situations, they certainly will be. In that case Britain might well have been so crippled, that Hitler could have walked in. Retaliation will be no answer in such cases since in future, wars will begin with just such an incident. The first blow will be the final blow.

* * *

THE I.R.A. incident was brought to mind by a broadcast commentary on the news of the use of the atomic bomb. It ran something like this: "Governments and diplomats must turn from the old ways of selfishness, realize that they must do justice, and no longer defy the will of the people."

A familiar discourse. Consider some of its implications. Were the young I.R.A. men doing the will of the Irish people? They believed so. But de Valera, who imprisons members of the Irish Republican Army believes—passionately—that he, not they, do the will of the Irish people. The Protestants of the North believe themselves to be part of the Irish people with a right to express their will, and do not believe that De Valera expresses that will so far as they are concerned. They may be altogether wrong but they too—just as passionately—believe themselves to be right.

Did Woodrow Wilson or his domestic enemies express the will of the American people? Was his government—"the ruling class" at the time—right or wrong in trying to secure membership of the United States in the League? The elections would indicate that the people did not support him enough. There are very many Americans today who believe that if the United States had done a quarter of a century earlier what it did the other day at San Francisco, the second world war would not have come. In any case there has been a great change of opinion about participation in an international organization. Were "the people" right in the earlier or the later opinion?

Obviously it serves no purpose—except perhaps an evil one to have governments reflect the opinion of the people if that opinion is disastrously mistaken. Our first task is to see that the decisions we demand be executed are right decisions and not wrong. If they are wrong it won't help us much in the day of the atomic bomb to have our governments obedient to a mistaken people's will.

The assumption that the people can never be wrong, is an assumption fatal to democracy. Do we in any case believe that "the people," if they happen to be the German people supporting Hitler, the Japanese people supporting the militarists, the Italian people supporting Mussolini, the British people supporting Neville Chamberlain or the American people rejecting Wilson cannot be wrong?

Our commentator tells us we may have peace if we do justice. Are the people agreed as to what justice is—even in matters at home touching their daily lives, in labor legislation, in taxation, in hotly-fought measures of social reform? Do we even know what "we, the people" want, since twenty-four hours before an election even experts are often wildly wrong as to how the people are going to vote?

Reformers demand with passion that justice be done, but also differ passionately as to what is justice and how it should be done—witness any ordinary debate between a Marxist communist and a Fabian socialist; witness the bitter rivalry between one form of trade union and another; between the various parties of the Left the world over. All revolutions invoke the cause of justice, all religions the cause of mercy and love. And the religions which have been most marked by professions of charity, love and mercy have also been marked by ruthless persecution, Holy Wars, inquisitions, inhuman tortures upheld by men deeply convinced they did the will of God. Nearly all revolutions have devoured their children, duplicating the Holy Wars by Holy Purges, the inquisitions by gestapos and ogpus.

* * *

WHAT is the relevance of all this to the atomic bomb?

The fact that its relevance is not immediately seen touches the very heart of the danger which confronts us. Whether the bomb becomes an instrument of welfare or of infinite misery and destruction will depend upon the wisdom and restraint of the men into whose hands it may fall; ultimately upon the wisdom of the multitudes who make and unmake governments.

But that wisdom and restraint have been

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patently lacking at times. It is our business to discover why; to delve into the sources of human error with the same scientific rectitude with which the physicists have uncovered the secret of the atom.

* * *

THAT we can never do if we begin by denying the fact of constant popular error, by denying that "the people" can ever be wrong. It is a deadly fallacy to assume that defense of democracy demands that we claim for the multitude, acting collectively, a political infallibility. We admit that our neighbors Thomas Richard and Henry, being human, are extremely fallible in their individual decisions. But a good deal of demagogic declamation seems to imply that as soon as three or three million or thirty million wrong decisions are put together they make a right one; or that when the fallible individuals become a mass they take on infallibility; their voice is then the voice of God.

This puts the case for democracy on utterly wrong foundations. Democracy may demand that we accept the decision of the majority, however wrong we may believe it to be; but it also demands, if it is to endure, and save us from such vast dangers as those of the atomic bomb, that we recognize the majority are wrong at times and attempt by persuasion to change it. Thirty million can only hope to be right on the whole by subscribing to the same moral disciplines which enable a single individual to be relatively right: by beginning with the assumption that he may be wrong, by keeping his mind open, prejudice and passion at bay.

A free society rests in the last analysis on the broad wisdom of the individual man, the citizen. But no man can be wise if he is convinced that he is by nature infallible; that he is incapable of error, that his decisions are those of God Himself. Yet the nationalist all but invariably insists that the citizen has no responsibility for any war in which his country may be engaged, since all blame rests with foreigners; that "our" nation (whichever one it happens to be) is always right, a view reinforced by school histories, a vast amount of editorial writing and political oratory. From the Left the ordinary voter is assured that he has no responsibility because wars are made by capitalists, or are rendered inevitable by the capitalist system. The "people" are blameless; the voice of God. The nationalist Right and the Marxist Left are equally insistent upon the blamelessness of "the common man." Both provide complete alibis and search out scapegoats: the Right offers the foreigner as the prize scapegoat; the Left offers the Capitalist.

* * *

SO long as these strange superstitions remain, the atomic bomb must constitute a vast danger. We say "Create an International Government to Control the Bomb," put that government under the peoples of the world and devise for it a democratic constitution. But most of the democratic constitutions already applied to the various peoples of the world simply don't work and result in dictatorships in one form or another. How many of the republics on this hemisphere are yet true democracies? How many of the nations of Continental Europe? How many of the nations of Asia? Of Africa?

Wars in the past have not on the whole been made by wicked men knowing themselves to be wrong; they have for the most part been made by good men passionately convinced on both sides that they were right. The men who fought Napoleon's wars against Britain believed themselves to be fighting for the freedom of mankind; that was equally true of the British who resisted Napoleon. If we are to begin to understand the springs of human action in this field we must make insistent and stark distinction between what may be right and what men believe to be right. Men—nearly all men—desire to do right: it is a deep and universal social instinct. The theologian would say that God tells all men to do right. Yes. But He does not tell what is right in every circumstance as it arises. It is our human responsibility to find out. That is the effort by which we earn the right to salvation.

If we are to live in a world of conflicting passionate convictions, in which each side believes that he has the whole truth, and that any hesitation about agreeing to it must come from interest, selfish wickedness; if the capitalist insists that socialism is just predatory looting by worthless agitators; or the socialist that those who object to his particular brand of socialism are not merely mistaken but anti-social enemies of the people for whom the only appropriate fate is liquidation; if each nation refuses to acknowledge its dependence for security on the help of others, or each insists that the others must accept his own ideology, that those who differ, by the fact of that difference, are wrong—if that is to be our postwar world it will be a world which ultimately the atom bomb, developed and "improved," is likely utterly to destroy.

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Attlee at Britain's Helm

by MARY SEATON

FROM LONDON BY CABLE

THE British peoples, in choosing who should lead them from war to peace, have told their traditional rulers, the Conservatives, "We've had enough of people like you running this country. We want it run by people like us."

Today, Clement Attlee, Britain's new socialist Prime Minister, heads a majority of one hundred and forty-six over all other parties in Parliament, which shared in achieving Japan's utter defeat and is planning vast human, industrial and economic reconstruction not only in Britain but all Europe. Clement Attlee, slight, quiet-mannered, indefatigable labor leader who is still something of an enigma abroad and even in Britain, a few weeks ago had none of the popular following of Churchill or even of his own more robust colleagues—Ernest Bevin and Herbert Morrison. Yet he now leads Britain into its great twentieth century adventure—the age of the common man who has spurned finally the fallacy that rulership is the business exclusively of the privileged class.

What type of man is he? What does he intend to do with his tremendous power? If you asked him he would first of all point out that power was not his, that it belonged to the people who had returned his party as their new government, and that Labor, unlike the Conservatives, based their plans on democratically-agreed policy rather than the publicity-bred popularity of one man's strong personality. Before election the country was plastered from one end to the other with mamoth posters of Churchill exhorting electors to let him "finish the job." Yet I did not see one of Attlee anywhere—not even in his own constituency, London slum district of Limehouse, which holds in its gaunt stretches of dockland, blitzed streets and shabby homes the very key to the character of Clement Attlee. Attlee himself has always dodged personal publicity, and the Labor Party as a whole, which is still slightly astonished by its tremendous victory, on principle opposes the "leader complex" Conservatives were developing with Churchill. Labor appealed to the country on policy rather than on the personality of their leader.

Yet in Attlee's personality itself is projected the great change that has occurred in Britain during the war years. For it was an emphatic if constitutional middle-class revolution which swept Labor into power. Professional and business men and women, farmers and previously reactionary agricultural communities, and the whole unpolitically-minded mass who always voted Conservative and despised Labor as a sectional workers party, quietly swung in behind Labor. One result has been the broadening of Labor's own Parliamentary Party which now includes a great number of scholars, professional men and women, business executives and young officers who fought throughout this war beside old type trade union leaders. It is fitting, then, that Clem Attlee—as everyone throughout Britain now calls him—should be a man of the middle class himself, a scholar of comfortable upbringing whose conversion to socialism was inspired not by what he himself suffered but by what he saw others suffer.

CLEMENT RICHARD ATTLEE was born on January 3, 1883, four years before the Queen Victoria Jubilee and seventeen years before formation of the Labor Party. He was educated at Haileybury, one of England's expensive public schools and took an honors degree in history at Oxford. He then studied law and became a barrister. Soon after he come down out of Oxford he began to read William Morris and Ruskin. They influenced him considerably and when the time came for him to work up his practice at the Bar his conscience and inquiring mind led him to London's East End. Its sweat factory conditions, its appalling slums, its illiteracy and ill health so moved him that he decided to make it his home. So in 1907 Attlee, a gently-spoken, thin, somewhat shy young man whose friends were already predicting a brilliant future for him, confounded them all by taking lodgings among down-and-outs, dockers, seamen and their overworked and undernourished wives and children.

Attlee, through his study of economics and history, had already decided that the only effective way of ending poverty and unemployment was by thoroughly reorganizing the country's industry and economy along socialist lines.

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He started campaigning throughout the East End for an independent Labor Party and became Secretary of Toynbee Hall which is still respected throughout Britain as one of the pioneering social centers. He made his living by day as a barrister and later lecturer at the London School of Economics. His close association with Beatrice and Sidney Webb and other intellectual and fighting socialists added richly to his solid if self-effacing personality.

When the first World War came, Attlee had no illusions about Germany being solely guilty. Yet he could not stand by and watch others sacrifice themselves. He joined the Sixth South Lancashire Regiment of Kitchener's army and went later to Gallipoli. Later he served in Mesopotamia where he was severely wounded. After being invalided home to England, he insisted, as soon as his health would permit him, on returning to action, and went to France where he was wounded again.

AS soon as the war ended he returned to Limehouse. Soon he became its first socialist mayor and later Chairman of the London Labor Mayors' Association, a body formed to coordinate the activities of the sixteen London boroughs in which Labor secured a majority. Unemployment was growing throughout the country. One of Clem's first jobs was to lead a deputation on foot right from the East End to Downing Street to see Prime Minister Lloyd George. There was a free fight later in Whitehall but Clem, already a good general, extricated his own men and led them peacefully back to Limehouse. Although he now lives quietly on London's outskirts with his wife and family, he still keeps in close touch with Limehouse.

Attlee was at first an enigma in London's East End, just as he is still to some extent abroad. Some weeks ago an old docker, Joe Jacobs, recalling his rise to power, told me "In the old days rich folks would sometimes come down here giving us clothes and money and saying how sorry they felt for us. But Clem was different. He came down here and he stayed. He worked with us and showed us how we could help ourselves. That was what we wanted." He paused and slowly prodded his pipebowl with blackened forefinger and added, "Nothing showy about Clem, same as there is about Winston, but he's genuine! When Clem says a thing you know he means it. It always has been like that with him, and we reckon up here it always will be."

There was plenty of trouble up at the East End at times—free fights, bitter controversies with local landlords and factory owners, and later attempts of Mosley's blackshirts to capture it by breaking up all socialist meetings. How many international statesmen who have since surveyed Attlee's dapper, correct figure and listened to his meticulously courteous arguments would suspect that Clem can at will invoke "cor blimey" Limehouse, or has even relished in his quiet way the prospect of a rough and tumble with bullies.

Clem Attlee reached Parliament as the member for Limehouse in 1922. His present position as head of the Labor Party came through his tenacity, hard work and an integrity which even his critics recognized, rather that any flamboyant qualities of leadership. He is essentially a plodder, a man of genuine modesty and keen and active brain. I would not say he is warmly popular even with his own colleagues: perhaps he has too few failings, certainly his personality lacks that extra quirk of richness which still moves British people to feel affection toward Churchill.

Before Attlee left for Potsdam, I said to him half-humorously, "If you become Prime Minister, we shall have to build you up as the conservative press do Churchill." He fidgeted a little and replied, "Let's get in first."

The sheer necessities of self-preservation against the Axis produced wartime national unity between Conservatives and Labor, and international unity between our conservative-dominated National government and Russia. With the end of the European war and the outcome of the Japanese war certain, this unity completely crumbled. It is unlikely now the British people will ever demand a return to old policies.

In Europe, Labor will work for federation on a socialist basis and close cooperation with all progressives. At home, it plans gradually but firmly to introduce public ownership of the Bank of England and key industries, to provide greater opportunity and well being for ordinary people. Will it have a fight to carry through the program which British people have already largely endorsed? It is expected that it will.

In this coming struggle Clem Attlee should prove a firm if unspectacular leader. He knows the world's problems well. He has spent years in India, Burma and traveling throughout other continents. He has had sound apprenticeship in domestic affairs. And there lies beneath his pleasant, active, even manner a heart with unsuspected depths of compassion and strength.

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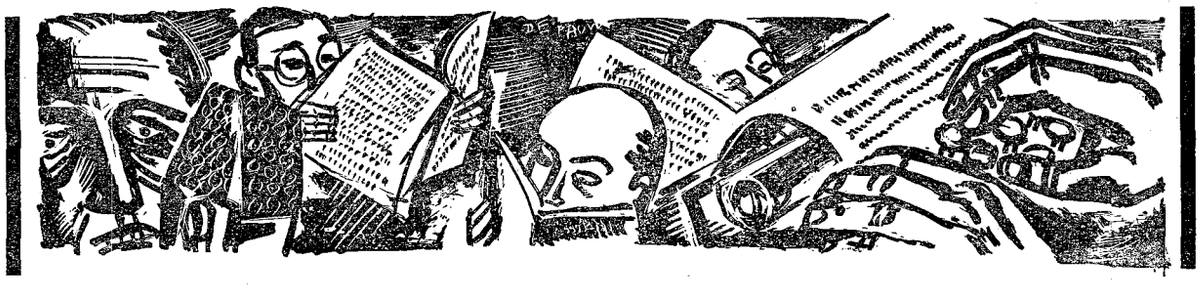


FREE SPEECH

Administration for the New Undersecretary of State

With the appointment of the Hon. Dean G. Acheson as Under-Secretary of State, I wish to take this opportunity to express to you and to the readers of the FREE WORLD magazine my great respect and admiration for Mr. Acheson.

Mr. Acheson, in his former position of Assistant Secretary of State, charged primarily with legislative matters and liaison with the Congress of the United States, made a very great contribution to the passage of the following bills:

The extension of Lend Lease, Bretton Woods, Reciprocal Trade Agreements, Food and Agricultural Organization, Extended Powers of Export Import Bank, and most important, Ratification of the Charter by the United States Senate.

As a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, I had the privilege these last few historic months, which will surely go down in history as the turning point in American foreign policy, of having weekly conferences with Mr. Acheson. In the discussions of the bills that I have mentioned, Mr. Acheson's lucid thinking brought clarity to the most complicated subjects. I found him to be a fair, generous, warm-hearted and open-minded man and I feel that his appointment as Under-Secreatry in the State Department augurs well for our relations with the rest of the world at this time.

HELEN GAHAGAN DOUGLAS,
Member of Congress, California.

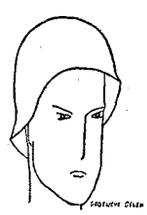
Brave New World

In the long, dark night that Army life is one can do little more than wait for the light of a Free World. Beyond the familiar aspects of personal liberty, one dimly perceives the glow of the world you speak of, the world you are making. A world of understanding and not mere judgment, a world of individuals each given the opportunity to fulfill his small life, and each knowing that the most happiness for the most people and thus the greatest chance for personal happiness is in cooperation. A soldier sits on his bed and thinks. His eyes shine as he sees, though faintly, the light of this "brave new world."

EDWARD BLOUSTEIN
Camp Ritchie, Maryland.

American Soldier in Europe

As an American soldier in Europe, I have had the pleasure of meeting three fine Belgian people —a professor of literature and his wife and daughter, residents of Antwerp. On many occasions I enjoyed their hospitality and talked with them about the past and future of our world.



I found them, like others of the Flemish Belgian people I have met, to be high-minded lovers of liberty, firm believers in the brotherhood of man. But these people—Dr. and Mrs. Vital Celen and their daughter, Godelieve —reaffirmed my own faith in our great mutual cause of world unity.

Miss Godelieve Celen has given me an expressionistic drawing which she executed last winter, during the first months of her country's freedom after years of German domination. She calls it "The American Soldier Fighting For An Ideal." Considering it an understanding interpretation of the American spirit at its best. I am sending it to you with her consent for possible use in your magazine.

Belgium. SGT. EDWARD FARRELL

Meaning of Democracy

I would like democracy to mean the self-rule of humanity, under God, for humanity's own best welfare; and this to imply universal duties to promote and feed a strong, wise and good public heart and mind for an indirect control of governments and institutions; and to imply the balanced best dignity and health, balanced best freedom and happiness of the individual citizens, secured by their required searching consideration of things significant to human welfare, their own welfare, that of their local communities and that of all humanity.

Cazadero, California.
WILLIAM J. CROWELL, JR.

No Laughing Matter

The pictures and photographs are very fine. You know, I may be old-fashioned but I consider that Eden taking his laugh in a conference like that at San Francisco (as shown in photo) is in extremely bad taste. It would do Attlee credit not to sit close to Anthony in future.

ALEXANDER EGINAS
Paso Robles, California.

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Men at Work

"Stuart Chase presents in the best tradition of creative journalism, the findings and experiences in significant areas of business personnel and economic pioneering . . . No manager—of factory, store, philanthropic agency, hospital or college—could fail to carry away a score of workable ideas from this notebook record of social experiments." — ORDWAY TEAD, in the *Survey Graphic*

N. Y HERALD TRIBUNE: "Mr Chase has focused attention upon a vital problem of our industrial society."

BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB NEWS: "A series of illuminating parables drawn from actual life in contemporary America . . . United by plain language, deeply-thought social comment, they combine into a book of real importance." *$2.00*

Color and Democracy: COLONIES AND PEACE

By W. E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS. "An eloquent plea that until administration of colonies is planned in terms of the welfare of their, usually colored, inhabitants, rather than of imperial corporative profit, there can be no permanent security even for the biggest powers."—*N. Y. Herald Tribune* *$2.00*

THE *Aesthetic Adventure*

By WILLIAM GAUNT. "An artistic and social history of the nineties . . . the best book ever written on that curious decade." —*Commonweal* *$3.00*

The Annihilation of Man

By LESLIE PAUL. "Logical, clear, and well organized . . . A keen analysis of the various philosophies from which a man in-these confused days must choose . . . Mr. Paul takes his stand on the Christian theory, which he declares to be the origin of all his social and political beliefs."—*Boston Herald* *$2.50*

HARCOURT, BRACE AND COMPANY

JOSEPH HUDNUT: "A distillation of the high purpose which has informed a lifetime of writing."

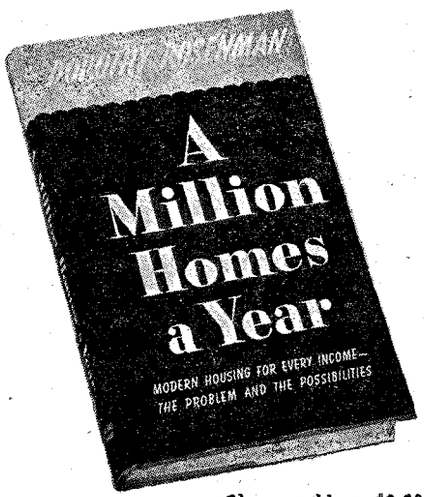
N. Y. TIMES: "It offers on a convenient scale the combination characteristic of his whole career: earnestness, practical sense, and charm."

SATURDAY REVIEW: "It is a sincere tribute to the author to say that, regardless of date, all six of the essays are fresh and relevant today, as I suspect they will be for many years." *$2.00*

CITY DEVELOPMENT
LEWIS MUMFORD

DOROTHY ROSENMAN

describes for the first time all the practical factors involved in producing more and better homes. Every phase of housing is covered succinctly. Mrs. Rosenman's comprehensive experience in every phase of housing (she is now chairman of the National Committee on Housing, Inc.) makes her particularly suited to write this much-needed correlation of housing problems.



Charts, tables, *$3.50*

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BOOKS

Preview on Fall Books

on International Affairs

ALICE PAYNE HACKETT

Associate Editor of PUBLISHER'S WEEKLY

THROUGH the war years there has been an almost overwhelming number of books about war experiences of all kinds—on the battlefields, above them, behind them, and in the Undergrounds. These are still appearing. Many narratives containing secret information that could not have been revealed before, because it would have been of value to the enemy, are scheduled for publication. In this category particularly are books about American submarine warfare. The definitive histories of World War II will probably not appear for years to come. The book world is already excited about the possibility of the early publication of the war memoirs of such men as General Eisenhower, Winston Churchill and Cordell Hull. It is provocative to imagine what historians and thesis writers a century or so from now will have to say about Hitler's ultimate fate.

More imminent, however, are the publishers' lists for this fall. While there are still numerous accounts of war experiences in them, the major swing is apparently toward interpretation of affairs national and international—warnings, prognostications, outlines, and factual presentations.

The majority of these books are concerned with America, her future among nations and her maintenance of internal democracy. Books about Britain, France, Germany and, to a lesser degree, Russia, China and Japan have fallen off. England's elections are too recent for the writers to have been busy about them yet, but no doubt books about that subject will be coming along very soon. Books on Latin America, particularly in the fiction field, are again on the increase.

The ratification by the United States of the United Nations Charter makes three books announced for the first three months of fall especially timely. The first to come along, in September, is *The United Nations Primer* (Farrar & Rinehart) by Sigrid Arne. It promises to give information on each of the important international conferences from the sea meeting of Churchill and Roosevelt, at which the Atlantic Charter was formulated, through the San Francisco Conference, describing the plans and accomplishments of each. The author is an Associated Press reporter. *The Four Cornerstones of Peace* (Whittlesey House), coming in October, is addressed to the average reader by the research director of the Foreign Policy Association, Vera Micheles Dean. It will discuss four world conferences—Yalta, Dumbarton Oaks, Mexico City and San Francisco—and will include documentary material. Concentrating on the San Francisco Conference is *Memo for Tomorrow* (Macmillan) by Charles Hodges, scheduled for November publication. This foreign news analyst for the Mutual Broadcasting System will give a detailed account of the Conference, with background material and some discussion as to its probable consequences.

The immediate problems of peace and the action they call for are studied by specialists in many fields, including science, technology, and cultural subjects, in the forthcoming symposium by members of the faculty of the University of Washington. Their book is entitled *If Men Want Peace: The Mandates of World Order* (Macmillan) and will be published in October. The editors, also of the University of Washington faculty, are Linden A. Mander, Joseph B. Harrison, and Nathanael H. Engle. *What the Informed Citizen Needs to Know* (Duell, Sloan & Pearce, September) is the catchy title of a book edited by Bruce Bliven and A. G. Mezerick. Important issues, political, economic, and financial, facing the United States and the world today will be discussed by outstanding authorities, among them, Stettinius, Wallace, Henderson, and Murray.

The distinguished philosopher, William Ernest Hocking, professor emeritus at Harvard, concentrates upon the need for a positive American foreign policy in *America in the New World* (Macmillan, September). America's relationships with Great Britain, Russia, China and Southeast Asia will be examined by Sir Norman Angell, Hans Kohn, Sir Bernard Pares, Maxwell S. Stewart, Robert Aura Smith, Charles Iglehart, and Joseph H. Ball in

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America and the New World (Abingdon-Cokesbury, September). *America's Stake in Britain's Future* (Viking Press, September) by George Soule, will study specifically the dual Anglo-American postwar role of economic rivalry and imperative economic cooperation.

The history of political philosophy, from ancient times to John Dewey, will be covered by Bertrand Russell, whose belief is that "politics and philosophy go together." His book, to appear in November, is called *A History of Western Philosophy* (Simon & Schuster). It discusses the relationship of philosophical thought to political and social circumstances from the earliest times to the present day.

Special internal American problems furnish the themes for books by such prominent authors as Henry A. Wallace and Chester Bowles. Wallace's book will come out early in September in the familiar large-size paperbound form of Wendell Willkie's *One World* under the imprint of Simon & Schuster and, clothbound, under the joint imprint of Simon & Schuster and Reynal & Hitchcock. *Sixty Million Jobs* is the title—it will take sixty million people at work by 1950, so says the author, to double the standard of living of those now in the lowest income groups. He believes that full employment in America can be attained without an authoritarian economy, inflation, or an unbalanced budget. *Sixty Million Jobs* sums up Wallace's personal, political and national philosophy. In November, Simon & Schuster will issue, in the same large pamphlet format a book by the head of the O.P.A., Chester Bowles. He will discuss most of the immediate problems of the United States, such as the farm question, small business and big business, the economics of the South, prices, wages, taxation, cartels, the national budget and debt, social security, housing and city planning, and foreign trade.

The late author of *How New Will the Better World Be?,* Carl L. Becker, will have a new book out in September, *Freedom and Responsibility in the American Way of Life* (Knopf). It expresses his views on the fundamental privileges and obligations of the citizen in a democracy. Morris Ernst, especially well known as a lawyer in censorship cases, and author of *The Best Is Yet . . .* and other books, examines civil liberties in terms of the movies, radio, theatre, and newspapers in *It Matters Now* (Macmillan, November).

There have been and are to be many books on the question of tolerance in America, especially in relation to the Negro population. In September comes *One Nation* (Houghton Mifflin), a text-and-picture presentation by Wallace Stegner and the editors of *Look,* of the minority groups in this country. It will be an attempt to show the economic, social and religious reasons behind discrimination and ways to create true tolerance. Louis Adamic, noted for his work toward the assimilation and for the appreciation of the foreign-born in this country, has a new book, *A Nation of Nations* (Harper). He tells the stories of thirteen immigrant groups in America—from Italy, Spain, France, Holland, Sweden, Russia, Germany, Africa, Yugoslavia, Poland, Norway, Greece and Ireland—and what the contributions of each have been.

The Macmillan Centenary Award Non-Fiction prize-winning book, coming in October, is a Negro's own account of both handicaps and advantages that Negro leadership has had, expressing his faith in the coming of a more democratic way of life for both whites and Negroes. The author, a sergeant in the Army, is Spencer Logan, his book, *A Negro's Faith in America.* A sociological survey of Negro urban life is provided in *Black Metropolis* (Harcourt, Brace, October) by St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, with an introduction by Richard Wright. It is an objective and intensive study of the second largest Negro group in the United States: the isolated, homogeneous community of Chicago's South Side.

Just beyond America's continental border is an island which presents many social and economic problems. *Dynamite on Our Doorstep: Puerto Rican Paradox* (Greenberg, September) is the way Wenzell Brown puts it to us. He taught in Puerto Rican schools for two years, also at Lingnan University in China, and has previously written *Hong Kong Aftermath.* He presents his material in great part through dramatic anecdotes.

What promise to be three interesting novels with Latin American background are on the early fall calendar. Alice Tisdale Hobart is widely known for her novels about China. In *The Peacock Sheds His Tail* (Bobbs-Merrill) her main characters are the daughter of an aristocratic, conservative family of Mexico City, and the American she marries, both caught up in the Government's struggle for liberal reforms.

Rebellion against medieval social ideas is the theme of *Bewitched Lands* (Knopf), its background a feudal hacienda deep in the Chaco region of Bolivia. The author, Adolfo Costa, is a Bolivian diplomat. *Memory and Desire* (Dial Press) is Mary Main's story of a wealthy Argentinian matriarch. The story covers the period from 1900 through the present war.

Informal pictures of Mexico will be presented in two non-fiction books. *Village in the Sun* (Putnam, September) is the colorful account of Dane Chandos' first year of living in a little town south of Guadalajara. *Mexican Merry-Go-Round* (Doubleday, Doran, September), by Emily Barret Blanchard, presents "high society at its lowest"—the royal refugees, sportsmen, gamblers, spies, and movie stars who have thronged into Mexico City during the war years. A more serious consideration of the problems of European refugees in Mexico will be provided by Isabel de Palencia's sequel to her stirring book, *I Must Have Liberty.* Her new volume, *Smouldering Freedom* (Longmans, Green, September) continues the courageous story of the Spanish exiles who helped to keep the democratic spirit alive, and reveals further the plight of Spain itself today.

Three books on Russian foreign policy are in the making. *Russia and the Western World* (Macmillan, September) describes the place of the Soviet Union in the comity of nations and the changes in

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the attitude of the USSR toward other countries. The author, Max M. Laserson, was formerly of the University of St. Petersburg. He is now with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and is a visiting professor at Columbia University. Victor A. Yakhontoff addresses to the general reader his review of Soviet foreign policy from its beginnings. His book, *USSR Foreign Policy* (Coward-McCann) will be published in October.

Soviet Far Eastern Policy, 1931-1945, to be published in September by Princeton University Press in cooperation with the Institute of Pacific Relations, lays special emphasis on Soviet policy toward China and Japan. The author, Harriet Moore, is research director of the American-Russian Institute.

What to do with Japan is the theme of *Dilemma in Japan* (Little, Brown, September) and *Shinto: the Unconquered Enemy* (Viking Press, October). Lt. Andrew Roth, author of the first, is against a "soft" peace, insisting that a democratic Japan can only be evolved after the overthrow of the court, the military, and the industrialists. Robert O. Ballou, in the second book, explains Japan's national religion as an aid to understanding the foundations of the country's political doctrines and to enabling us to destroy her fanaticism.

Gunther Stein, Far Eastern correspondent for English and American newspapers, analyzes developments in the communist-controlled areas of China in *The Challenge of Red China* (Whittlesey House, September). The question of the whole world's food supply with special reference to Asia is the subject of Radhakamal Mukerjee's *Races, Lands, and Food* (Dryden Press), to be published later in the fall. He argues that Asia's one billion inhabitants must be allowed the right to emigrate in order to expand Asian economy. There will be an introduction by Owen Lattimore. Indefinitely scheduled for fall is *The Arab Island* (Knopf), by a pro-British, anti-Zionist writer, Freya Stark, author of *The Southern Gates of Arabia* and many other travel books. She discusses the Arab world during the war years, telling something about its new, young leaders.

Essentially European questions are represented by a smaller number of books than are the national and international aspects of life in the Americas and Asia. *Nationalities and National Minorities* (Macmillan, September), by Oscar I. Janowsky, a member of the history department at the College of the City of New York, is a consideration of the future of east-central Europe—whether it is to be broken up again into small national states or whether multi-national economic divisions would not make for more local harmony and world peace. Don Luigi Sturzo, founder of the Popular Party in Italy and exiled in 1924, reviews Italy's past and makes some predictions as to her future in *Italy and the Coming World* (Roy Publishers). And in *The German Talks Back* (Holt, September), a German who plans to return to his country, Heinrich Hauser, warns Americans that the German people will remain unreconciled to defeat.

COLUMBIA

FALL BOOKS

A Chinese Village

Taitou, Shantung Province

By MARTIN C. YANG

With candor, charm, and skill a rural sociologist details the life of his native village in one of China's oldest agricultural regions. A happy blending of intimate knowledge and scientific accuracy, it is the first book to tie together the various phases of rural life in China in a thoroughly coherent story. *September 15.* $3.00

Men, Mind and Power

By DAVID ABRAHAMSEN, M. D.

Author of *Crime and the Human Mind*

A professional criminologist's analysis of why the German people became Nazis, with special chapters on the psychoanalysis of leading war criminals. *October.* $2.00

The Trollopes

The Chronicle of a Writing Family

By LUCY POATE STEBBINS and RICHARD POATE STEBBINS

This engrossing, full-scale biography of a notable family of writers, Anthony Trollope, his mother, Frances Milton Trollope, and his brother, Thomas, is also a delightful picture of the English literary world of the mid-nineteenth century. By the authors of *The Enchanted Wanderer: The Life of Karl Maria von Weber* and *Frank Damrosch: Let the People Sing.* *Illustrated.* *October.* $4.00

Germans in History

By PRINCE HUBERTUS ZU LOEWENSTEIN

Professor of International Relations, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, author of *Conquest of the Past* and *On Borrowed Peace*

A broad historical survey of the German people from the days of the Roman Empire to Hitler, viewed as a long struggle between the Christian ideal of unity and nationalistic race consciousness. *November.* $5.00

Iran

By WILLIAM S. HAAS

Iranian Institute and School for Asiatic Studies, author of *What Is European Civilization*

William S. Haas, for some years foreign adviser to the Iran government, surveys the transformation of Iran into a modern country, with the current conflicting political interests that concern it. *Illustrated.* *November.* $3.50

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A new approach to the past which gives it new value for the present . . . .

Stuart Cloete has combined history with biography in a way which measures men one against another and reveals in them values as constant as the values in the men upon a chessboard.

He tells the story of three men an African chieftain who occasionally fed his acquaintances to the royal crocodiles, an Oxford scholar who thought power and empire were one, and a Dutch fundamentalist who wanted to halt change. Such were the big three who fought and bargained for prolific Africa.

Their actions channeled by divergent cultures, these three met and failed. That failure can teach us much in a world where a Tartar shoemaker's son trained for holy orders in the Greek Orthodox faith, an aristocratic British social worker, and a Missouri farm boy, struggle to unite a world.

Against These Three

By **Stuart Cloete**

– At all bookstores, $2.50

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Russia Appraised

THE BASIS OF SOVIET STRENGTH, by George B. Cressey. Whittlesey House. 287 *pp.* $3.00

The Soviet Union has emerged as one of the great powers of our time. According to Cressey, credit for this achievement goes in part to a dynamic political and social system and in part to the basic geographical factors of minerals and position.

The author examines the factors in Soviet strength. He deals with the description and history of the Soviet realm, with the whole geographical pattern of Eurasia, with the Soviet people, the physical foundations, the Soviet mineral wealth, and with industrialization in the Soviet Union. Cressey is well qualified to discuss all these problems as he has traveled widely in the Soviet Union and in Asia and knows many regions from first-hand experience.

After the discussion of these main features of the Soviet Union, Cressey turns to the regions of the Soviet Union. He describes in detail each region: its history, geography, climate, topography, resources, and economic structure.

Continental power will not dominate the world. The Soviet Union is the second richest country in natural resources, with mineral resources next to the United States, but no over-optimistic conclusions should be drawn from a mere tabulation. The agricultural area cannot be pressed beyond its present boundaries. Soviet possibilities resemble more nearly those of Canada than of the United States. In the Soviet Union and in the United States the crops are nearly the same. However, the rural population in the Soviet Union is 114.5 million; it is only 53.8 million in the United States.

Russian agronomists place the agricultural frontier at twelve inches of rain in contrast to the American limit of twenty inches. Agriculture suffers from frost and drought, and it is doubtful whether there are large possibilities for future expansion of cropland except in the steppe. (Soviet Asia has only 2 per cent of its area under cultivation.) The forest resources of the Soviet Union amount to 21 per cent of the world's timberland, yet the timber production is only 11 per cent of the world total. Nearly half of the Arctic lands of the earth lie within the U.S.S.R. The key to Soviet strength is in her people, the population numbering 200 million and increasing at the rate of 2,800,000 a year. The country has three times as many young people under sixteen years of age as has the United States. The nine million square miles of Soviet Russia have an average density of but fifteen per square mile. This number will increase, but the population supporting capacity is low. As the author states, "decades must pass before the cumulative results give the Soviet landscape an appearance of material abundance resembling Western Europe."

Though primarily geography, Cressey's book embraces a vast number of topics and provides answers to many questions. It is a welcome, scholarly addition to the studies on Russia, clarifying various issues and written without bias. ANTONIN BASCH

War—and China

FLIGHT FROM CHINA, by Edna Lee Booker. Macmillan. 236 *pages.* $2.50

Edna Lee Booker is far from a cynical foreign correspondent but she could not refrain from quoting China's immortal poet of the 8th century, Li T'ai Po, thus: "This time of ours is like a strange, confused dream."

The author, who married John S. Potter, an American real estate broker in Shanghai, went to China in 1920 and stayed there through civil wars, political revolution, and finally Japanese invasion until Washington ordered women and children home in 1940. Her husband remained behind to protect his interests, was interned, and repatriated on the second voyage of the Gripsholm in December, 1943.

The first part of *Flight from China* rounds out the experiences of Edna Lee Booker as related in her earlier book, *News Is My Business.* The second part is the story of John S. Potter.

Edna Lee Booker covered 50,000 miles of China as a foreign correspondent. She watched the swirls of civil war give way to unification under Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, only to be stricken by Japanese invasion. She interviewed the warlords, the new nationalist leaders, and the swaggering invaders. She covered the story of Shanghai under Japanese bombs in 1932 and again in 1937.

The Potters took what they called a "Holiday Under Terror." It was spent at the former British naval base of Weihaiwei in North China. They landed under the eyes of glaring Japanese sentries and the gleam of their bayonets. Chinese civilians and American women were slapped. Americans swallowed their pride at the banners—"Drive All Foreign Dogs Into the Sea."

John S. Potter takes up the story of Japan's deliberate plan to eradicate all American and Western influence from China. He tells of Pearl Harbor Day and its confusion in Shanghai. With other Americans he went about the city streets wearing his Red Arm Band as an internee. Then in January, 1943, he was herded with hundreds of his compatriots into a long-disused tobacco warehouse at Pootung on the river.

Finally came the happy day of boarding the repatriation steamer, Teia Maru, where he found his assigned place in the hold, five decks down, with ten to fourteen men sleeping on double-deck platforms. That was his quarters from September 19th, to October 19th.

Edna Lee Booker in the concluding chapter says:

"My husband is home, yes; but he was hardly unpacked when he began to talk of 'going back.' Like so many of our Chinese and American friends here as refugees, he is waiting for the day of return. John has our passage engaged." JOHN GOETTE

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Making of a Nazi

SOWING THE WIND, by Martha Dodd. Harcourt, Brace. 311 *pp.* $2.50

The subject of this novel is not only an interesting but also an important one: the transformation of an essentially decent and honest man, from a really good German into a nazi and a fanatical killer.

We have had quite a few novels dealing with the resistance of the average German against the nazi order, and the consequent suffering and heroic fight of such a one. Other authors have described the awakening of misguided and disillusioned nazis, their rebirth so to speak. Martha Dodd's novel presents a less optimistic picture. She has chosen as her hero a brave soldier of the first world war, a famous flier, who in the early days of the Hitler régime openly demonstrates his contempt and hatred against the barbaric spirit and the evil orders of the nazis. Erick Landt is charming, courageous, loyal to his Jewish friends—but basically weak. The nazi leaders who need the outstanding talents of this man succeed in corrupting his character by bestowing honors and gifts upon him, until gradually Erick becomes one of them. He betrays his friends and destroys those who loved him. Unpolitical—he himself is very proud of being it—suffering from a strong inferiority complex, he is an easy prey for the men who know where and how to apply their pressures.

As a psychological study the book is convincing, the characters are well drawn. Martha Dodd, the daughter of the former American ambassador to Germany, knows the country and the people she describes, especially the society, Junkers and industrialists.

The first half of the book vividly depicts the life of Germany during the early years of the Hitler régime, the shock of the Roehm purge, Landt's gradual realization of what nazism means and his disgust with the men who were responsible for the beating of Jews and anti-nazis, for injustice and the perversion of truth. Landt's romance with Lina, a woman who realizes his weaknesses and fights to save him from himself is genuine. Later on the author perhaps attempts to prove too much. Yet Landt's decision to join the Nazi party because he cannot stand up against the pressures of the régime, is understandable.

Far less convincing is the quick and insufficiently motivated deterioration of his character: as revealed in his personal conduct and in his relationship to Lina. Erick Landt loses his identity at times, becoming a type rather than a living person. All the same Martha Dodd deserves praise for a courageous and honest story of the dramatic choices, the spiritual battles that have presented themselves to millions in our day. Her book displays understanding of the human as well as the political problems of our times. Martha Dodd combines a remarkable talent with an intimate knowledge of psychological problems. Her book is both a great lesson and an exciting novel. LEO LANIA

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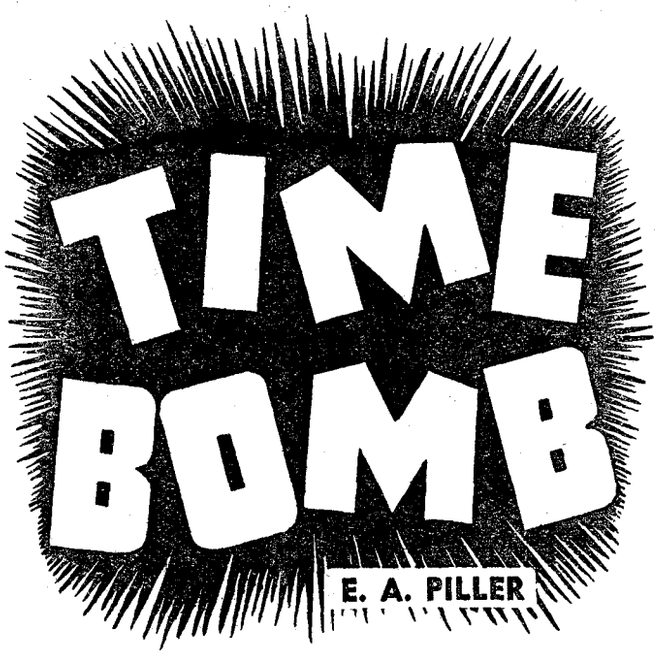

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The Peace Vigil

THE KILLING OF THE PEACE, by Alan Cranston. Viking Press. 304 pages. $2.50

The dramatic emergence of the atomic bomb, its implications for the future of mankind, the Japanese surrender, bring the problems of the peace into immediate perspective. It is becoming increasingly clear that a solidly integrated international organization must be established lest the world be faced with the danger of utter destruction.

The Killing of the Peace gives a colorful day-by-day description of the "grandeur and decadence" of America's leadership in international affairs in the wake of the Versailles Peace Conference.

The book brings back to life the tense historic period of twenty-five years ago.

All hopes of the present-day Cabot Lodges to repeat the performance of their "illustrious" predecessor were doomed. Those who, during the San Francisco Conference, had misgivings as to whether the Senate would ratify the Charter, underestimated the tremendous strides made by the American people in grasping the true meaning of the character of the war and of the peace to come. International cooperation and world organization are rapidly becoming generally accepted concepts.

A thesis pervades Mr. Cranston's book. It is that America's participation in the League of Nations was torpedoed by a small group of wilful, shrewd and resourceful men headed by the gentleman from Massachusetts, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge.

How could such a small group defeat the will of the great majority of the American people?

Mr. Cranston points to the shrewd parliamentary maneuvering of Senators Lodge, Knox, Hiram Johnson and others. He depicts the ruthless and skilful campaigns of Colonel Harvey in his *War Weekly* and those of the Hearst press. The reader gets a glimpse of the manner in which Lodge and his associates secured their financial support from men like Henry Clay Frick and Andrew Mellon.

But no political astuteness, no matter how potent the financial support, could have killed America's participation in the League if the American people had had an effective leadership and a clear vision of America's role in world affairs.

Mr. Cranston's book conveys a feeling of profound admiration for the inspired leadership of President Wilson. Yet, one can hardly help thinking that had President Wilson possessed some of the realistic attributes of a politician, his fight would have had a better chance of success.

The Senate seemed to reflect the will of the American people. Yet Mr. Cranston relates the following findings of William Howard Taft, who visited the Capital in 1919: "The situation, in effect, was that although most senators seemed to want a League of Nations, everybody was supporting his own kind of League of Nations."

No strong leader apt to challenge Senator Lodge had emerged from the Democratic ranks.

Throughout the country most of the newspapers and numerous civic and church organizations were in favor of the League. But when submitted to the skilful and persistent barrage of the plotters against the peace, the leadership of the various organizations began to waver. As Mr. Cranston puts it:

"Many groups, including the League to Enforce Peace, failed to take a persistently clear stand on amendments and reservations, and so the widespread sympathy for the League of Nations had no real effect in the Senate."

The adoption of the San Francisco Charter and America's participation in the world organization does not in itself provide a guarantee against international strife and World War III.

If the peace of 1945 is to be preserved, the people must maintain a constant vigil over the behavior of their representatives and governments. This is in line with one of the main lessons contained in Mr. Cranston's book.

The Killing of the Peace is an indispensable book as a permanent reminder of the dangers still threatening the world organization. It reads like a living newspaper and gives a dramatic survey of the subtle methods which destroyed the world organization at the end of the last war. Tomorrow, when the implementation of the Charter will find new enemies Alan Cranston's book will be a guide for constant comparison with the past.

SAMSON TROP.

FLIGHT from China

By EDNA LEE BOOKER in collaboration with JOHN S. POTTER

Here are the experiences of an American couple caught up in the maelstrom of the Far East. A newspaperwoman (author of *News Is My Job*) and her husband tell about the gracious, happy life they led in China and how it turned into nightmare with the coming of the Japanese; how she escaped, how he was imprisoned and finally repatriated. $2.50

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The hunted look is still on the faces of many youngsters all over the world. They clutch their crusts of bread still afraid that someone might take it away from them any minute. There is no more urgent task for the United Nations than to give back to those children the joy of life. *Phot. Rapho-Guillemette*

THE CHILDREN CANNOT WAIT

WAR'S cheapest commodity is children. Unfortunately there are symptoms which make one fear that peace's cheapest commodity in some parts of the world will also be children. One would have assumed that as soon as a territory is liberated, the first thing to be done would be to take care of all the children, whether they are citizens or non-citizens, whether their parents are known or unknown and yet today thousands of children are still without much care. Of course, centers are being provided and food is beginning to be distributed, but there is no truly coordinated effort on an international scale to help the children overcome five or more years of hunger,

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Without confidence—children in France, where these pictures have been made, as well as in all the other formerly occupied countries, are unhappily defiant. They don't expect any kindness from grown-ups. War and nazism have played havoc too long with their bodies and souls.

This little French boy crouched in a dirty corner is a living accusation against the world into which he was born. His hand is raised in fear—his eyes are asking, "Will you hurt me again?"

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Phot. Rapho-Guillemette

In her face are written the memories of screaming sirens, exploding bombs, crashing houses—all the years of ruthless warfare and oppression. Distress and apprehension are now part of children's faces, just as malnutrition is part of their bodies.

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Now—the German mothers are crying. For years most of them not only ha tolerated but also had encouraged the indoctrination of their children. It wa a matter of pride to have one's child belong to the Hitler Youth. . . .

misery and terror. Those years have left their scars.

Many children in Europe are terribly frightened. The nightmare of war in their cities, of Gestapo and police raids, the memories of traveling in cattle cars still remain with the children despite the ringing of victory bells and the proclamation of peace.

In China the Allies will find a similar situation. For long years millions of Chinese families moved on foot over thousands of miles of bare land with their children crawling along behind them. In occupied China, the Japanese military terror equalled and sometimes surpassed that of the Gestapo.

Thus, in every place that has been touched by the fur of war or by Axis military occupation, the children are th most pathetic victims of World War II. They had jus begun to live. They came into a world which wasn't mad for growth and life. They found themselves confronte with a situation in which it was difficult even for adults t survive. Peace alone will not be a cure for years of under nourishment and mental terror. A gigantic effort on a international scale is necessary in order to settle the fou major problems of the children's world.

1—Adequate and regular feeding. It is important tha children get a sense of security about food and know tha

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. . It was a matter of pride to look from the windows and to see "my little ne" marching in the parade to "Heil" the Fuehrer! To spit at and beat up he Jewish neighbors; to receive well-filled bags containing a thousand objects which were stolen from the subjugated peoples.

Tears alone won't do. Only the most sincere effort and the reconstruction of he countries devastated by German fury will free us from anything which esembles nazism and Pan-Germanism.

t will come regularly. At present when a food truck arrives hey rush savagely at it, knock down the weaker ones in order to get quickly a small quantity of milk or candy be- :ause they are afraid that otherwise they may go without.

2—Adequate Housing. Not in large camps and not un- ler military discipline but in small communities—just a few nouses near forests, rivers and mountains, and with a suf- ficient number of nurses and teachers so that each child gets :he necessary care.

3—Toys, books and instruments. In many parts of the world there are no toys, no children's books, none of those small instruments which children like to play with. These are necessary to coordinate their movements and to develop their abilities.

4—Travel. Children should be given a chance to make trips in friendly areas. Safe travel and change of atmosphere will more than anything else, tend to give them a sense of security and teach them that their world has become peaceful and free again.

None of these tasks can be solved by any one country alone. It is essentially a United Nations task and the immediate establishment of a special agency provided with the necessary funds to do this job is indispensable and of the utmost urgency.

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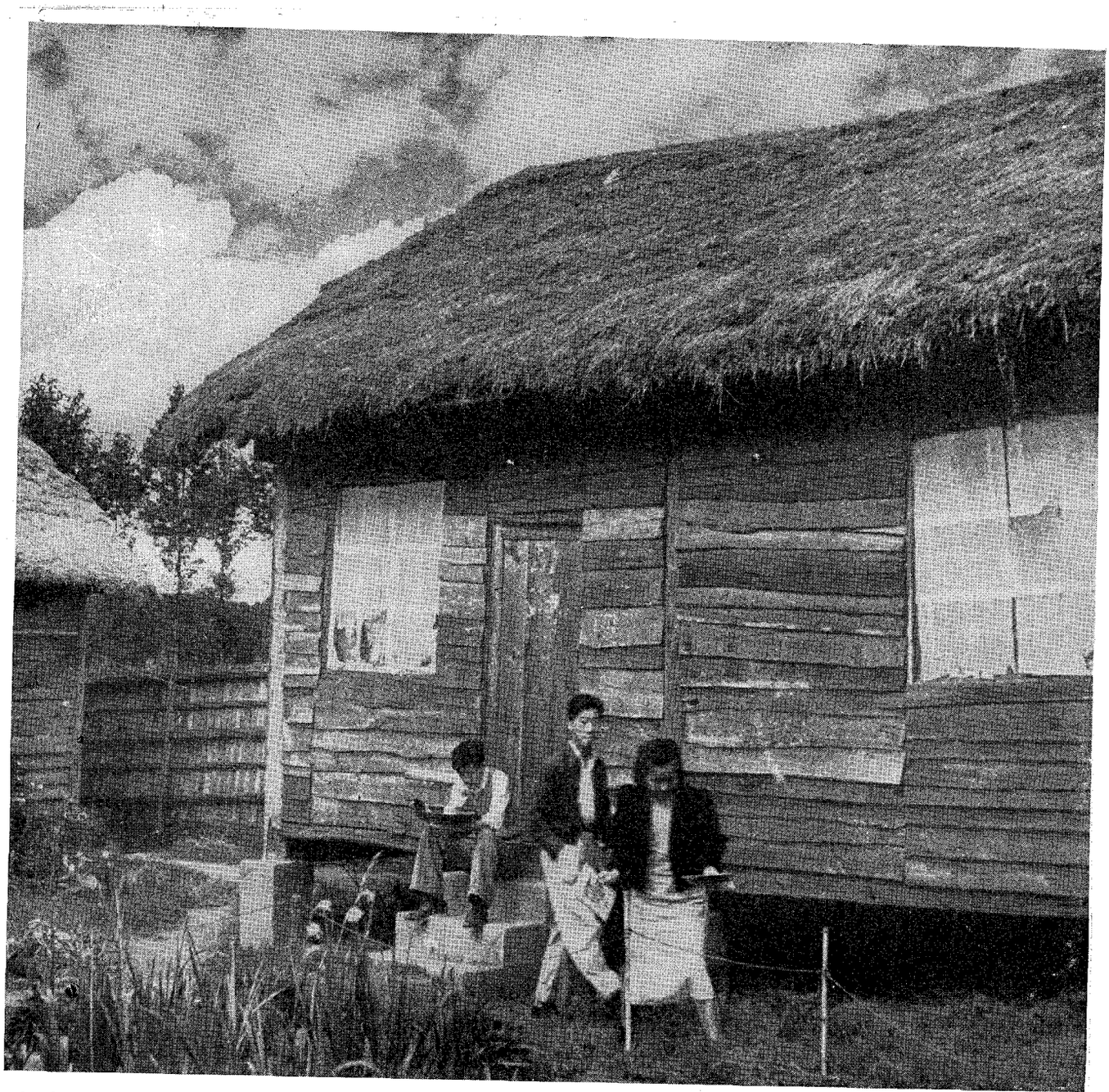

In the long fourteen war years China never stopped teaching and learning. Three proud universities, once possessors of fine academic buildings and laboratories, kept on in pitifully poor mud huts and grass-thatched structures near to Kunming. The universities Tsing Hua, formerly at Peiping, Nan Kai, formerly at Tientsin, and the National Peking University at Peiping were forced by the Japanese invasion to evacuate from their former homes and move westward to this city under conditions that would appal an American University, but the scientific work was carried on through war and inflation. Tsing Hua with engineering, Nan Kai with economics and law, and the National Peking University with political science and law. Students at these universities are probably the most liberal-minded of any of the Chinese students and the National Peking University is a hot-bed of Chinese politics.

Phot. Guillemette, Chinese News Service

UNIVERSITIES IN MUDHUTS, PRESSES IN CAVES

TEACHING AND LEARNING WENT ON IN INCONQUERABLE CHINA

THE new China is consumed with a thirst for knowledge. After the capitulation of Japan, Chinese education enters upon a new era. The world will soon learn the prodigious effort of a free China bent on maintaining and developing education under the most difficult circumstances.

Professors, students, pupils and small loads of books and laboratory material followed the retreating armies which tried to buy time with space. While Peking, Shanghai and Canton were in the hands of the enemy, one could witness an extraordi-

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Printing of books, magazines, newspapers was carried on under most trying circumstances. Import of books and magazines (among others, the Chinese edition of FREE WORLD) *never ceased. On account of the Japanese bombings, presses were set up in caves on hillsides. This photo shows the press room of Chungking's leading newspaper: TA KUNG PAO.*

☆

The editor of the Woman's page of TA KUNG PAO, leading Chinese newspaper in Chungking, Miss Yang Kang.

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nary phenomenon: the numbe of universities constantly kep growing.

The universities that had los their scientific equipment wer unable to replace it. It was witl makeshift material that scien tific research was carried on un der Japanese bombardment. I the cellars and caves of Chung king students and professors car ried on.

Today, China is entering :

The life of a Chinese university pro fessor is not an easy one. Utmost frug ality is typical. One bare room is al most teachers can afford. This pictur shows Professor SHU CHAO-SHIH with his wife and four-year-old son a home. Note the professor's library, th volumes on the bench at left.

"Burning the midnight oil" is more than a figure of speech for this student in Pishan. As there is no electricity in Pishan students used old-fashion lamps during the early darkness of winter pre-paring for examinations. A new modern China will give these students adequate facilities.

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You can't beat such people: typical scene in the dirt floor classroom at the university in Kunming. The windows have no panes or protection against the cold winds that sweep through the classrooms. This is the largest classroom in the school. Many are too small to be photographed. Note intense and serious expressions on students' faces.

new era. A people that has shown such an intense thirst for science is sure to advance rapidly on the road to progress. If the Chinese

"Cafeteria," Kunming style. Students eating luncheon in university "mess hall." As there are no stools to sit on they take their food standing up.

All Photos: Guillemette. Chinese News Service

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The country that invented paper did not have enough paper left during the years of Japanese oppression to teach her children writing. In primary schools, due to shortages of teachers, older children had to teach the younger tots how to draw the Chinese characters in a sand box. A scraper is used to remove the figures after the child has finished drawing the characters. The sand box not only replaces paper, but also saves pens and ink which are scarce and very expensive in China.

Phot. Guillemette. Chinese News Service

schools and universities need our help, isn't there an Education Commission of the United Nations?

This China, no longer corresponds to the traditional idea of a backward China. In the domain of social sciences as well as in that of applied sciences, China will supersede Japan, as it will replace the military power of the Empire of the Rising Sun.

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THE BRITISH ELECTIONS:
It was a butcher's and baker's, and candlestick maker's (and as you see here: chimney sweep's) election. "We, the people . . ." of Great Britain spoke—clearly and unmistakably. *I.N. Phot.*

WE, THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN

UNDER NEW

MANAGEMENT

THERE is something deeply comforting for the democratic concept in the way the British people took to their general elections. Despite five and one-half years of war and privation, English men and women prepared to vote with a seriousness and care to which one must render sincere homage.

On the surface the election issues were not too clear because, apart from the nationalization of certain industries and of the Bank of England, the social measures and foreign political planks in the platforms of the two major opposing parties seemed similar to a superficial observer. But there is no doubt that the British people have reached a high degree of political ma-

***The greatest surprise** of the British elections was the intense participation of the common man and woman of Great Britain. It is the voice of such women as this bombed-out housewife in Bristol that spoke in the elections and brought about the most complete change in Britain's political set-up.*

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There were no dull or half-empty meetings during the English elections. Indoor and outdoor meetings were crowded, debates heated. The interest of the listeners in everything concerning their country and their role in the "better world of tomorrow" is unparalleled. These faces show the lively participation of the people in the elections. Phot. *INS*

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"The Women for Westminster" was one of the great popular currents of this campaign. In order to find suitable candidates there was a "women's soap-box oratory contest" in the famous Hyde Park, which has seen many things—philosophers, revolutionists, dreamers, but never such an influx of women.

turity during these hard years of war, and that they have learned to read between the lines, to detect the nuances and different emphasis in the political platforms. The British knew that their election was being watched very carefully by the whole world. The election results prove that they knew that their was an intense progressive wind blowing over the earth. They also seem to have realized that Great Britain would win, and not lose by changing its political leadership, particularly because Mr. Churchill's super-imperialist utterances seemed to grate on the nerves of other Allied nations.

Thanks to the elections, Britain, from a long-range historical point of view has immensely strengthened her position. Instead of being one of the bulwarks of toryism, Britain has become the first important country to attempt a transformation of its social system by democratic means. Thus, instead of sliding into the role of a second-class power, England has worldwide attention to her new experiment.

If the British succeed, and if the Labor Government lives up to its election promises, then Great Britain may have introduced a new political system into the annals of history.

Miss Jean Rock, a former photographer at the War Office was the official time-keeper at the "Women for Westminster" Oratory contest. She timed a contestant by her watch and rang the little bell when the time-limit of ten-minutes expired.

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A Nursing Sister, Miss Angela Gaywood, talks on State control of Hospitals. She delivered a stirring speech which interested her large audience intensely—she is here seen stressing a point while competing in the "Women for Westminster" Oratory contest from her stand at Marble Arch.

☆

It is hard to guess how much the women had to do with England's change of government. But one thing is sure: England's women had an "active" (and suffering) part in this war, never before experienced by the women of any nation. Small wonder that these women now play a lively role in politics—They make themselves heard—on the political platform—or just as one of many millions of voters, deciding the ways of the British Empire.

I.N. Phot.

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So chic
so charming

so Coty

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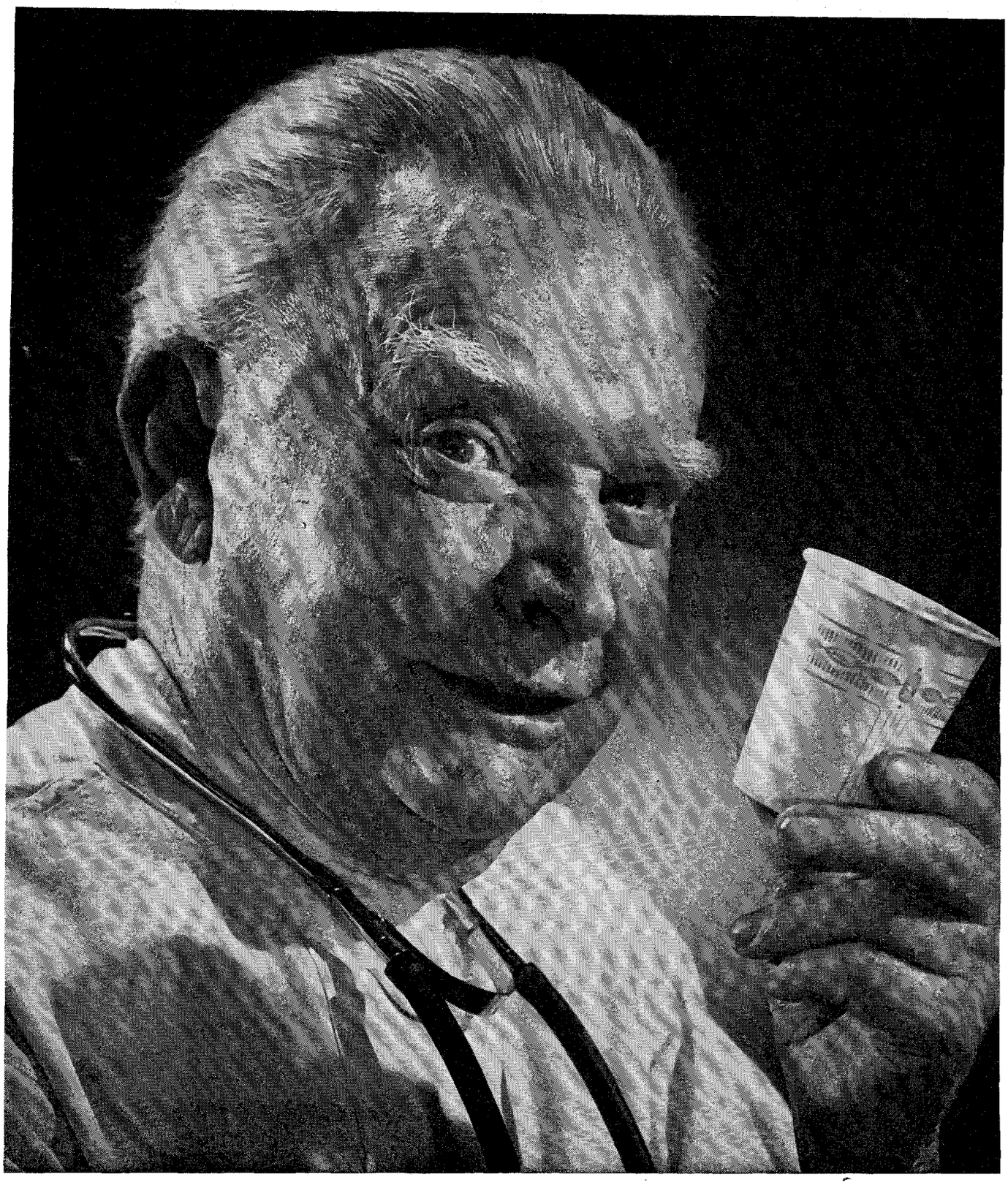

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So we put away our bugle and never blew a note

THE National Headliners Club, which each year gives awards for outstanding work in the newspaper and radio fields, recently gave citations to two of our people: George Hicks and Baukhage. These are only the last of more than a dozen awards that have been given to ABC commentators and news analysts in 1945 . . . and realizing this, old man Temptation nearly got us; we came near writing an ad about the swell job some of our boys are doing on the news front. Felt like bragging a little.

After all, George *did* make one of the outstanding broadcasts of all time on D day and *was* the first to broadcast the Rhine crossing . . . and our Norman Paige *did* make the first radio broadcast from a battleship of the fleet bombarding the Jap coast . . . and our Arthur Feldman *was* the first to broadcast the news of three major landings of the Philippines campaign . . . and Raymond Swing *did* get the BBC award (for his job in keeping the British people aware of America's war effort) in addition to the famed George Foster Peabody award.

Temptation Bows Out

Well, it was quite a temptation. But we finally put our bugle away without blowing a note. Settled down then to figure out *why* these men (and all our other ABC men up front and out at sea) consistently do such a bang-up job. Got to thinking that our red-hot interest in the whole news and information picture might have something to do with it. That's a pretty important part of our operation over here, you know. We're *doing things* with news. It's part of our job to keep the public informed.

We are building some of the soundest news policies radio has ever seen, too.

No Censorship at the ABC

For example, we face the issue and admit that everyone over the age of six is prejudiced one way or another. And this fact in itself makes it impossible, on the face of it, to overcome bias by filtering all the news and commentaries through one "unprejudiced" man.

▶ **That's silly. No man is smart enough to know what the public ought to hear. So, having picked men with a sense of responsibility, we let them say what they feel, reviewing their work only for good taste and for competent news authority. Then we set out to balance these prejudices: a commentator with a slant toward the liberal is balanced off with another more conservative.**

Then we let them ride, with only this bit of coaching: "Get it all; get it straight; get it first, if you can."

And maybe the fact that the ABC *practices* freedom of speech instead o just preaching it inspires these men t do a great job.

We Owe This to the U. S. Public

We trust America. We don't think ou people need to be spoon-fed. We think they can make smart decisions if they're given *all* the news, *all* the information *all* the slants. And, so far, we can't see any evidence that this is a wrong slant on a public that has "come through" during these years.

LET'S TALK ABOUT NEWS: News is a lot o things: the first flash over the wire . . . the fox hole-eye view . . . the interview with the Com manding General . . . the Washington sum-up . . the commentators interpretation.

But most of all, it's *information;* it's the anvi on which tomorrow's public opinion is shaped.

That's why the ABC does everything possible every day, to keep it—

Accurate Speedy Varied
Comprehensive Interesting
—and our commentators are not muzzled or censored

A Whisper to Advertisers: A network that's winning acceptance by dealing them straight isn't a bad one to keep in mind.

ABC *This is the* AMERICAN BROADCASTING CO.

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